Winter 1983/84 Vol. 16/no. 4

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the magazine of the Royal Ontario Museum

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Volume 16, Number 4, Winter 1983/84

Two terracotta reliefs in the ROM 2
K. Corey Keeble

The Hunchback Tomb: A major archaeological discovery in Central America 5
David M. Pendergast

Mapping Toronto's First Century: 1787-1884 12
Isobel K. Ganton

Of Mites and Men: Two biologists on the tundra 20
David and Norma Barr

The Growing Collections: A rare 18th-century jacket; A trilobite trackway and other fossils 27

Heirlooms from Upper Canada: A bicentennial exhibit from the ROM 29
Gracious living in the wilderness
Peter Kaellgren
Clothes and fashion
Mary Holford
Our homely treasures
C. Janet Holmes

Recent and Forthcoming Publications 39

Index 1983 40

Cover: Detail of the eastern wall fresco in the Bishop White gallery (see *Rotunda* 16:3) showing the Tantric form of the attendant to Chen Wu, Lord of the Northern Dipper. Photo: Bill Robertson, ROM.

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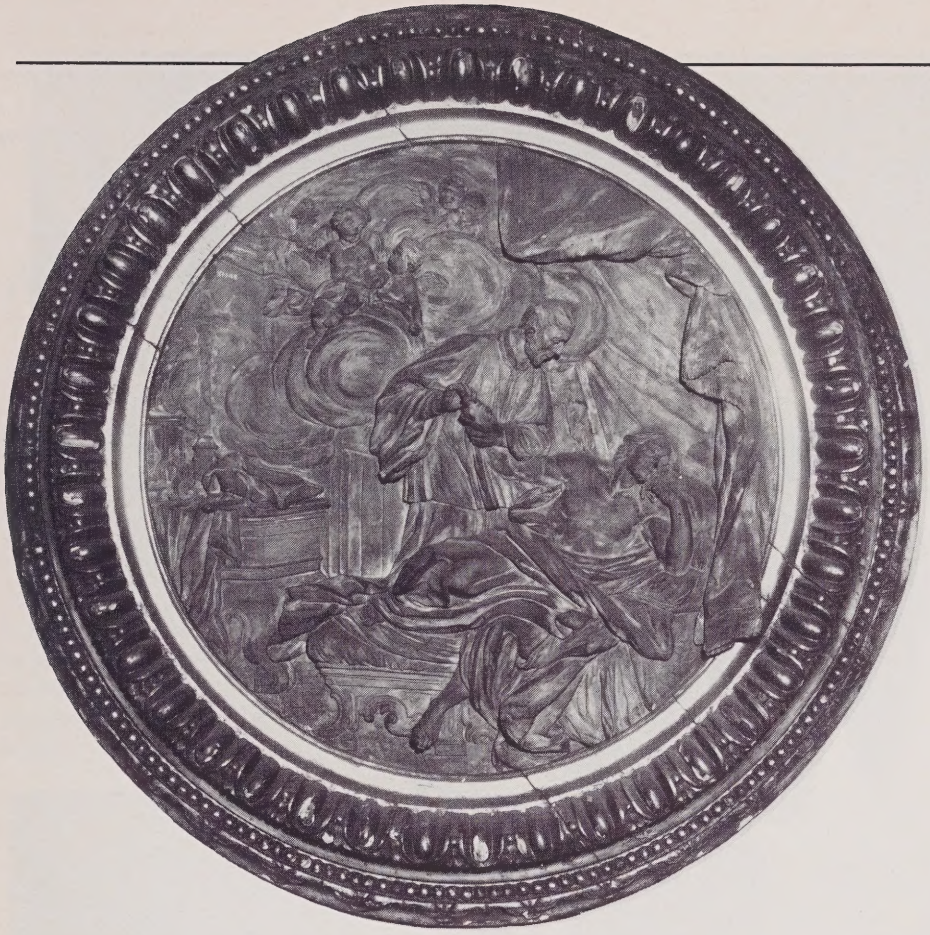
Two terracotta reliefs in the ROM

K. Corey Keeble

TWO previously unascribed circular terracotta reliefs, or *tondi*, in carved and gilded wooden frames, purchased for the Royal Ontario Museum in 1930 from the London dealer Thomas Sutton, are now convincingly attributed to the Neapolitan sculptor Domenico Antonio Vaccaro. Once thought to represent scenes from the life of St Charles Borromeo, the reliefs are now identified as depictions of scenes from the life of St Cajetan (Gaetano), and they relate to marble reliefs of the same subjects by Vaccaro in the crypt of the church of San Paolo Maggiore in Naples.

The terracottas depict *The Miraculous Healing of Niccolo Caffarelli*, and *St Cajetan Twisting the Hand of the Sleeping Niccolo Caffarelli*. Cajetan, who was born in Vicenza c. 1480 and died in Naples in 1547, is recorded as having appeared in a vision to Niccolo, son of Duke Gasparo Caffarelli, and to have miraculously healed him of a malignant fever and convulsions that had lasted twenty-nine nights and had threatened to prove fatal. It was the chance location of an article by Raffaele Mormone in *Napoli Nobilissima*, vol. 1 (1961–62) on the San Paolo Maggiore marbles that led to the identification of the subject matter of the terracottas and their attribution to Vaccaro. The identification was made just in time to justify the inclusion of the terracottas in the "Arts of Italy in Toronto Collections" exhibition held at the Art Gallery of Ontario in the winter of 1981–82, where they were publicly displayed for the first time with their Vaccaro attribution.

Stylistically the terracottas are entirely consistent with Vaccaro's relief technique, so much so that it is reasonable to assume that they are original *bozzetti* (preliminary models) for Vaccaro's marble reliefs of the same subjects, and that they were made between 1719 (the date at which the San Paolo Maggiore reliefs were probably commissioned) and 1724 (the date of completion of Vaccaro's St Cajetan cycle of four marbles). In 1969, when the attribution and iconography of the Toronto *tondi* were still unsolved problems, Stella Mary Newton of the Courtauld Institute, on the basis of an analysis of details of dress, suggested a date of c. 1715–1720. The validity of this suggestion is confirmed by



Left: *The Miraculous Healing of Niccolo Caffarelli* and right: *St Cajetan Twisting the Hand of the Sleeping Niccolo Caffarelli*. The two terracotta reliefs with gilt wooden frames attributed to Domenico Antonio Vaccaro (1678–1745). Each of the terracotta plaques has a diameter of 54 cm.

recent findings concerning the terracottas and constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of their stylistic analysis. Stella Newton's dating of the reliefs is all the more impressive because the characters depicted are not clad in fashionable garb but according to a convention used for the depiction of historic subjects.

Although Domenico Antonio Vaccaro's marble and stucco sculptures have received increasing scholarly attention, his *bozzetti* remain unknown to a surprising degree in the definition of the body of his work. The ROM's terracottas are a remarkable asset to the study of Vaccaro's sculpture, and within the total context of his extant work must be regarded as rarities. Their importance, however, transcends their specific relation to Vaccaro. They are of interest to the study of Neapolitan Settecento sculptural *bozzetti* in general, and important to a field which, with the research of such scholars as Teodoro Fittipaldi and the appearance of major exhibitions of Neapolitan Settecento art—such as the "Golden Age of Naples" exhibition in Detroit and Chicago in 1981–82 and the earlier "Civilta del'700 a Napoli" exhibition in Naples—is drawing increasing attention from the scholarly community and from the general public alike.

We regret that because of continuously rising costs, it is necessary to raise the price of *Rotunda*. Beginning with this issue, single copies will cost $3.00 and the cost of subscriptions will be as follows:

1 year (4 issues) $10.00
2 years (8 issues) $18.50
3 years (12 issues) $27.00

Existing subscriptions taken out at the old rates will be honoured at those rates until they expire.

The editors wish to correct an error introduced during the editorial process into the title of the article by Ladislav Cselenyi and Neil Moran in *Rotunda* 16:3. The line above the title on p. 29 should have read: "Inspired by the last phase of Byzantine painting".

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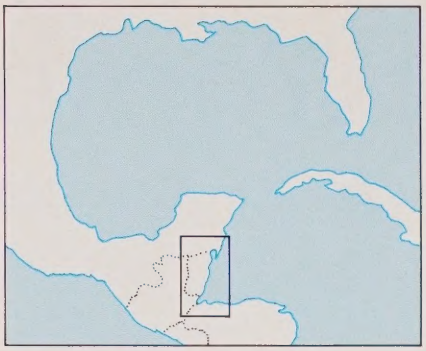
The Hunchback Tomb

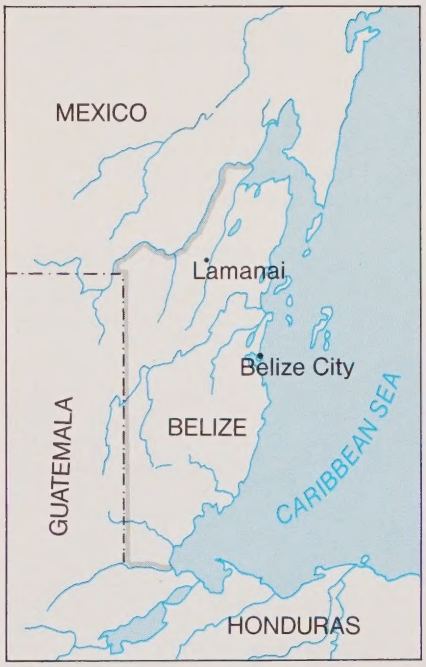
A major archaeological discovery in Central America

David M. Pendergast

BY May 1983 we had nearly completed ten seasons of excavation at Lamanai, in northern Belize. With more than fifty-seven months' work behind us, we should have been far beyond the point of beginning to duplicate some parts of the picture of ancient Maya life that had emerged from the ground over the years. Yet every building we investigated produced significant new material, an unusual thing even in sites larger than Lamanai, with its 720 buildings spread over four-and-a-half square kilometres. Each time we started work on a new structure, we wondered if the seemingly endless richness and variety of Lamanai's archaeology would at last reach its limit, and that thought was never stronger than when we returned in May to extend investigation of areas near the 16th-century Spanish church that lies south of the site's central precinct.

Excavators led by Claude Belanger clear the older of the two Spanish churches, about 100 metres south of the hunchback tomb site.





Construction of the first church at Lamanai, probably in 1567, must have made the southern end of the site the focus of the early historic community. With this in mind, we spent part of 1980 in a search for 16th-century dwellings and other buildings in the vicinity of the church, with no conclusive results. Our return to the area was meant primarily to complete exploration of the immediate environs of the church, and this work in itself provided a very considerable number of surprises. In addition, we planned to check buildings at a greater distance from the church zone; this aspect of the study, though it involved only one structure, resulted in an addition to our knowledge of late prehistoric life at Lamanai that is at least as significant as any made in all the preceding seasons.

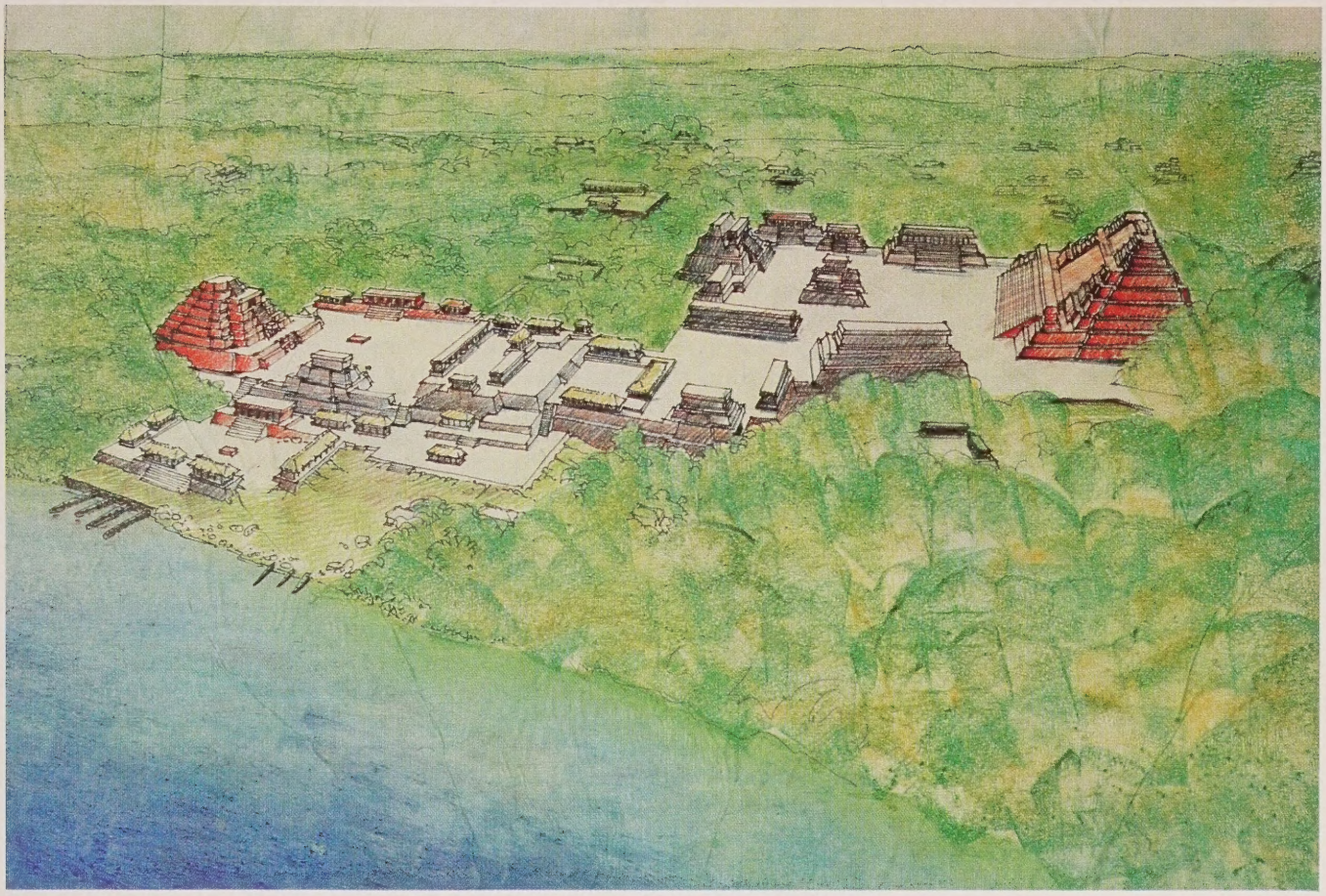
When we moved away from the church zone we chose what seemed to be a most unpromising candidate for investigation: a mound less than one metre high, clearly never more than the base for some sort of perishable building, set by itself near one edge of a very extensive but not very well defined platform. Our choice was dictated by the mound's location, not by its physical features; first of all, it was only about 100 metres north of the church, and second, it lay on the edge of the expanding settlement of illegal Salvadorean and Guatemalan immigrants that threatens a number of structures in the southern part of the archaeological reserve. That threat often takes the form of re-use of ancient mounds as sites for houses, and of course it also means that we must work under the gun, sometimes almost literally, if we are not to risk loss of artifacts left in the ground overnight. At the start, the risk of the loss of data did not seem high, but as it turned out, we were confronted by this concern daily for more than a week.

Our first trench into the mound showed that re-use had already occurred. Long after the structure, built in the 5th or early 6th century and used until about A.D. 950, was abandoned, Victorian England made its appearance at Lamanai, and one of the sugar-mill families chose the small mound as a house site. Scattered over its top and concentrated in what had been a large depression at the south side was the most extensive collection of mid-19th-century crockery, glass, metalware, and other household goods we have yet encountered at the site. While we are not focused on the 19th-century occupation, the material is still of interest, particularly for what it reveals about our ability to reconstruct family life from evidence that is only 125, rather than 1000, years old. Thus the Victoriana is a story in itself, but the shallow pit that served as the main 19th-century garbage dump turned out to be the heart of the tale the structure had to tell.

Removal of the European refuse revealed a few bits of the ancient mound's face and associated floors on the south side, but as we worked towards the garbage dump all the features vanished. The deepening of our trench picked up another facing, near the line of what we had already cleared, but built of very different sorts of stones, and clearly of greater height than the mound itself. Further digging amidst more broken glass and soup-plate sherds cleared a face that led southward, away from the mound. None of this made sense as part of the Maya building, and at first I thought it might be a Victorian pit or well. That thought remained in my mind as one of the excavators trowelled away soil in a corner of the pit and revealed what seemed to be the top of a tube or pipe, mixed with bits of the 19th-century garbage.

I set out to examine the tube, working in what appeared to be a sort of small enclosure in the pit's northwest corner. The area's size prevented me from having a good look at the tube and a strange pottery object attached to it, so I removed more of the soft soil from the enclosure, and then realized that we had jumped back several centuries from Victorian times, and had made what was likely to be a significant discovery. The importance of the object and of its companion pieces was, however, far greater than I could judge at first encounter with what is probably the latest élite tomb at Lamanai.

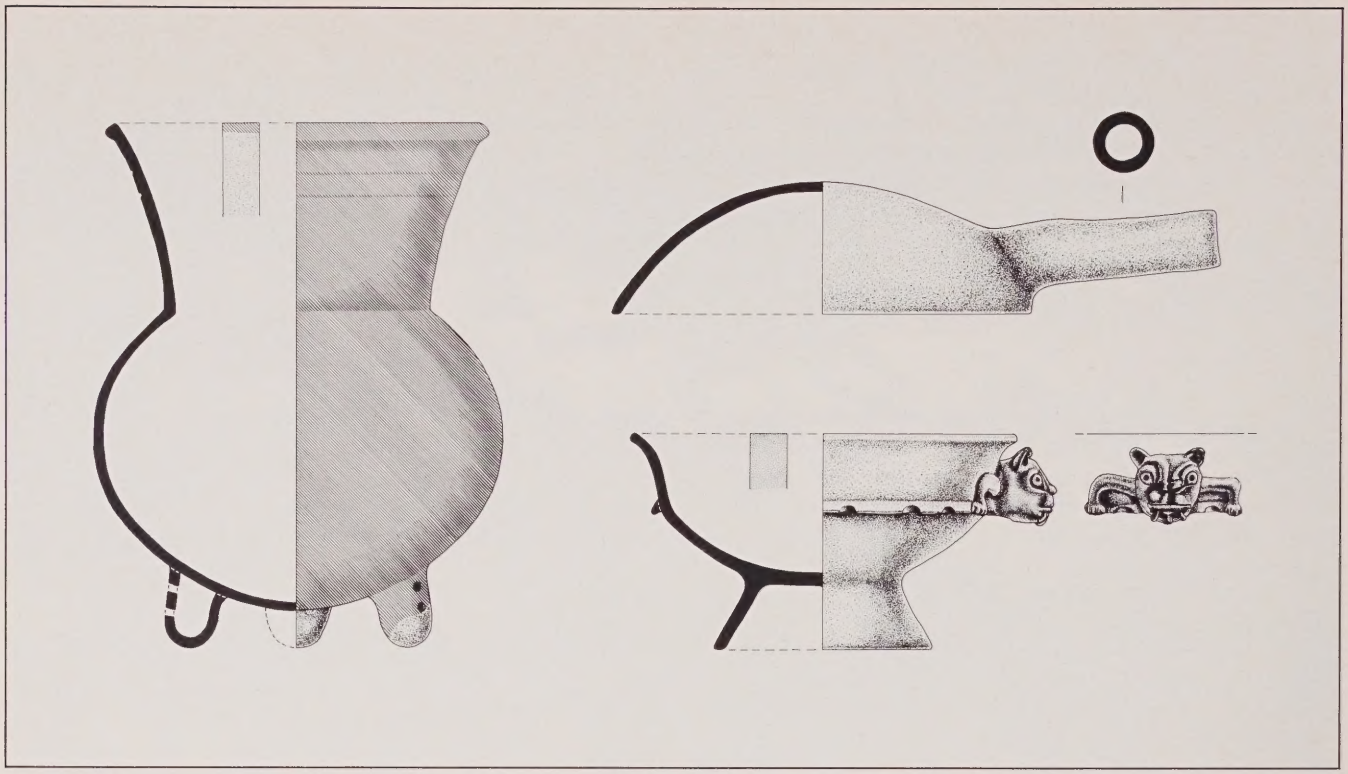
For all of the discovery day, a Saturday, I worked at clearing what was soon recognizable as a very large and extremely unusual pottery figure. Because of the presence of villagers nearby, I re-buried the figure at the end of the day and



Lamanai's centre as it would have looked from the air about A.D. 600. Drawing by H.S. Loten.

returned early the following morning to complete preparation of the find for photographing. This began a week of days that ran from sunrise to sunset, with each day occupied by clearing as much of the pit's contents as I knew I could record and remove before dark, leaving whatever lay below for the next day. This was hardly a satisfactory method of excavation, especially as the objects within the tomb soon could be seen to be both plentiful and very special.

Discovery of the tomb revealed the badly broken hunchback figure seated in one corner of the crypt.



Tripod jar (height: 28 cm), "frying-pan" censer, and stuccoed jaguar bowl from the tomb. Drawings by Louise Belanger.

The plotting of each artifact in position, coupled with the recording of its depth, will permit us to produce in the lab a complete drawing of the interment, but the day-by-day segmentation of the work has left us with no photograph that comes close to showing the entire lot of grave goods in place. Add to this the frequent gunshots that punctuated our days in the village, and the occasional whizzing of bullets very near us, and you can see that the work was carried out in something less than ideal conditions. Nonetheless, we emerged with a collection of data far beyond any expectations we might have had even if we had guessed that the tiny mound concealed a royal burial.

In addition to the remains of the principal individual, which had almost entirely disintegrated because the body was laid on soft limestone bedrock, the pit held the complete skeleton of a second adult, apparently tossed in at the south side above the tomb's base, and a carefully laid-out child, near the second adult. The tomb was probably sealed with some sort of wooden roof capped with stones and earth; decay of the roof pitched the overlying material into the crypt, disrupting the arrangement of some of the contents and breaking several objects. It appears, though, that stones were also placed within the pit, since the body of the second adult was sprawled over a number of large rocks and surrounded by a good many more. Roof collapse may also have broken the large figure, despite a sort of rough cribbing of rocks that surrounded this major element in the tomb's furnishings.

Besides the figure, the tomb held considerable quantities of shell and jade beads, two severed human upper arm bones not from the individuals buried in the crypt, and two large worked human bones, each carved with intricately detailed scenes; in addition, there were two copper bells of different sizes and shapes, and a single adult-size copper ring. The ring has a particularly poignant quality about it, for it was slipped over one of the child's fingers, perhaps as a farewell gift from a grieving parent. Besides these riches, there were twelve pottery vessels, a real treasure-trove of different forms and surface treatments. Among the vessels are several sorts not previously recorded at Lamanai, as well as one form that, like the figure, is unknown, as far as I am aware, elsewhere in the Maya area.

Some of the vessels bear sufficient resemblance to other ceramics from the site to indicate that the tomb was probably constructed in the late 15th century, and could in fact be of early 16th-century date. Among the essentially standard

forms of this period are three "frying-pan" censers, two tripod redware plates, a small unslipped tripod bowl, two small unslipped jars, and a somewhat unusual blackware bowl that resembles a jar in form. The pottery inventory also includes a pedestal-based unslipped dish, originally stucco-coated, with an appliqué jaguar's head and front limbs on one side, and a large redware jar with three feet that are good markers of the last part of what Mayanists term the Postclassic period.

The unique vessel is a gigantic redware jar, its upper body covered with stucco that bears complex line-and-dot designs in red. Below the stuccoed area is an appliqué monkey's head at the vessel's front, and at the rear the creature's tail curls up over the body and onto the stucco. The monkey's limbs, bent at the elbows and knees, form the four legs of the huge jar, and his hands and feet are attached to the vessel's sides. Though the jar's form and colour, as well as the treatment of the monkey's head, are within the Postclassic range, the decoration on the stucco, together with the animal-limb supports, places the vessel in a special category.

The unique jar and its eleven companion vessels, as well as the other elaborate grave goods, attest an importance that is underscored in a dramatic way by the giant figure. Clearly the most special object in the tomb, the figure is a hollow representation of a hunchback, clad in a simple loincloth and headdress. He is seated on a stool that appears to be a faithful representation of an object from real life because of its dished top and two splayed, single-board legs. At the back of his head, the hunchback has a large red-painted queue that extends down over one shoulder. All exposed areas of the body are, or were originally, covered with a thin stucco wash over which are panels of fine black-line geometric designs. Ash that filled the lower half of the figure bespeaks the object's use as an incense burner, and the treatment of the hands, feet, and limbs indicates relationship with censers of the so-called "Mayapan style" recovered elsewhere at

Jar with appliqué monkey head, legs, and tail, found beneath the hunchback figure. Height: 39 cm

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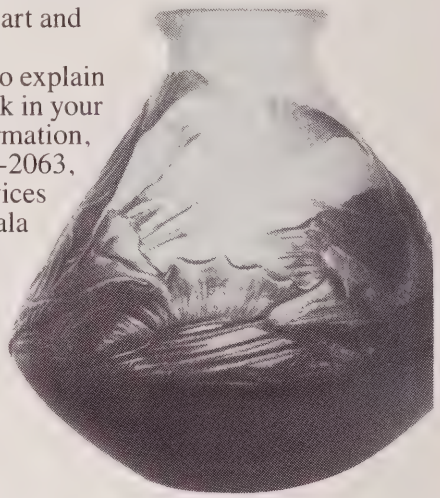

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The hunchback figure after field restoration; note the realistic features of his two-legged stool. Height: 37 cm

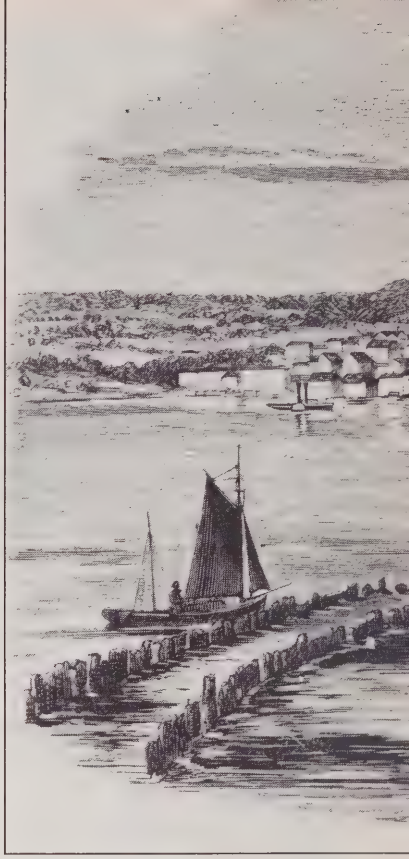
Lamanai. The figure's face is, however, much more expressive than those of Mayapan censers, and the decoration of the body is unreported elsewhere. Hunchbacks, who seem to have had an honoured role in Maya religious belief but whose significance is not fully understood, are depicted in several instances at other sites. No other representation is, however, an aesthetic counterpart for this amazing and sensitive portrait figure.

Work on the materials from the tomb, and on the drawn record, will continue for some time. The ROM's Conservation Department is now labouring over the two carved human bones, both of which were broken by collapse of the chamber's roof. They are of great interest not only because of their elaborate ornamentation but also because they suggest a relationship with a burial, probably of slightly earlier date, that was recovered some years ago at the south end of Lamanai's central precinct (*Rotunda* 13:4, 5–11). We hope that radiocarbon analysis of the ash from the great figure will give us a more precise date for the tomb than we are able to derive from study of the ceramics and other grave contents, though the tripod redware plates and the large tripod red jar make the late 15th or early 16th century placement reasonably secure.

The most curious feature of the tomb, which we shall probably never be able to explain, is its association with the small mound. There is nothing about the unprepossessing structure, either in form or in contents, that suggests any great distinction between it and other small residential structures. If there was indeed something special about the structure when it was in use, the physical evidence of it had surely disappeared in the four to five centuries that elapsed between abandonment and the building of the tomb. Those charged with construction of the royal sepulchre must have come upon a mound that looked much as it did when we arrived to begin excavation, and hence their choice may have been motivated by some sense of an aura that surrounded the structure. That sense is, of course, lost to us, and thus we shall probably always see the little mound as a most unlikely site for the burial of a person who was surely a major figure in the life of Lamanai not long before the opening years of the Historic period.

David Pendergast, curator in the ROM's Department of New World Archaeology, is now in Belize directing the eleventh and final season of excavations at Lamanai, where flak vest and helmet may soon become standard archaeological accoutrements. The project will draw to a close in 1985 with a year of laboratory and mop-up work, and final reporting should begin soon thereafter.

Mapping Toronto's First Century 1787–1884

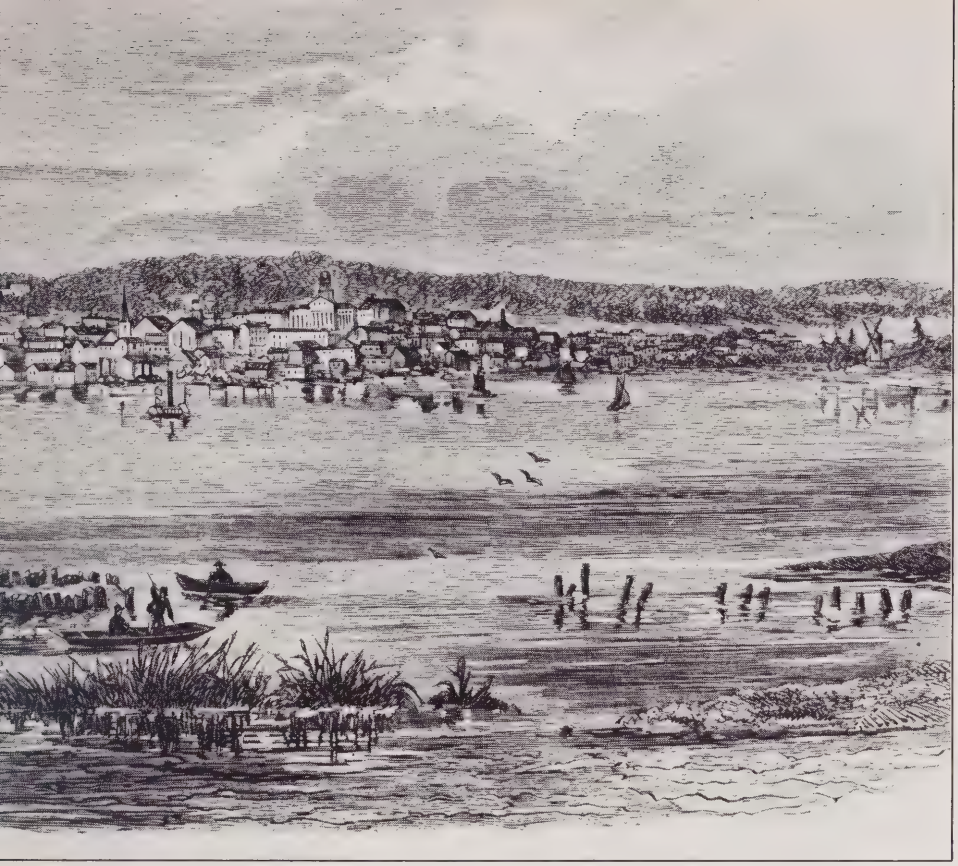


Isobel K. Ganton

DEVOTEES of maps consider them worth *both* a picture *and* a thousand words. They will therefore give a special welcome to an exhibition entitled "Mapping Toronto's First Century, 1787–1884", now on view in the Royal Ontario Museum's Canadiana gallery until the end of March 1984, as part of the 1984 celebration of the sesquicentennial of the incorporation of the City of Toronto. The exhibition is co-sponsored by the ROM and the Toronto Historical Board and is supported by a grant from the McLean Foundation.

To create the exhibition, University of Toronto map librarian Joan Winearls and historical geographer Isobel Ganton have chosen approximately sixty manuscript and printed maps of Toronto, supplemented by portraits of some leading map-makers. The items on display come from the National Map Collection of the Public Archives of Canada, the Ontario Archives, the Metropolitan Toronto Library, the Surveys Branch Office of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, the University of Toronto, the Registry Office of Toronto, the City of Toronto Archives, the Toronto Historical Board, the ROM collections, and two private collections. Some of the maps are well known through previous display or publication, but many are virtually unknown to the public at large. Now gathered together in a major exhibition for the first time, they illustrate both the physical development of the city and the history of map-making in 19th-century Toronto.

Each map taken alone depicts a cross-section in time, a momentary state in the growth of a constantly changing city. Together they document these changes, often showing how later developments were influenced by earlier conditions and decisions. The first map seen by the exhibition visitor, recording the 1787 transfer of title to the lands of the Toronto Purchase from the Mississauga Indians to the British crown, shows an almost blank space; a century later the area was patterned by a rural grid rapidly being converted into a much denser and more complex grid of urban streets and lots. The last map in the exhibition, Goad's summation of development south of Eglinton Avenue in 1884, graphically portrays the extent of the change. One of the foremost aims of the show is to demonstrate how this transformation took place, and why it took the form that it did.



Toronto, viewed from the south c. 1840.

"Mapping Toronto's First Century" has been divided into four time periods: Establishment, 1787–1820; Expansion, 1821–1850; The Boom of the Fifties, 1851–1862; and The Emerging Metropolis, 1863–1884. These mark not only stages in the city's growth, but also significant changes in the map-making process in Toronto.

The maps of the first period show the natural setting and the government surveys that established the framework for most later urban growth. Surveyor Alexander Aitken's 1793 *Plan of York Harbour* (Fig. 1), for example, includes the eastern sideline (now Victoria Park Avenue) and the east-west baseline (now Queen Street) of the York Township survey. These lines, the key to the orientation and relative location of most later streets, depended in turn on a survey of fourteen townships (shown on another map in the exhibition) that had as its starting point a line determined by a treaty with Indians near the Bay of Quinte. On such a distant and unrelated decision depends Torontonians' exposure to sun and wind today!

Aitken drew the township lots as originally surveyed, but those from Lot 17 west to Lot 32 (beyond the area of this map) were immediately bisected lengthwise into one-hundred-acre park lots. The new town of York had been selected as a safer capital for Upper Canada than Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), and the park lots were granted to government and military officials to help reconcile them to the move. Both farm and park lots strongly influenced the street pattern that emerged as the city grew: their long narrow shape made the grid the easiest and often the only possible choice, and their long axes (which differed from those shown here in some parts of the township) were reflected in the orientation of the dominant streets.

The Aitken map also contains the earliest known portrayal of the Old Town—the original ten-block townsite of York—and the first detailed depiction of the peninsula (after 1858 the Island) and of the streams flowing into the harbour. Except for the Don River, these streams disappeared into underground sewers so long ago that most people are unaware that they ever existed, yet they were a significant factor in the early growth of the town. Royal Engineer Lieutenant George Phillpotts' 1818 *Plan of York* (Fig. 2) shows that the clearing

The exhibition, "Mapping Toronto's First Century: 1787–1884" will be on view through 1 April 1984 at the Sigmund Samuel Canadiana Building, 14 Queen's Park Crescent West. The gallery hours are 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday to Saturday; 1 to 5 p.m. Sunday.

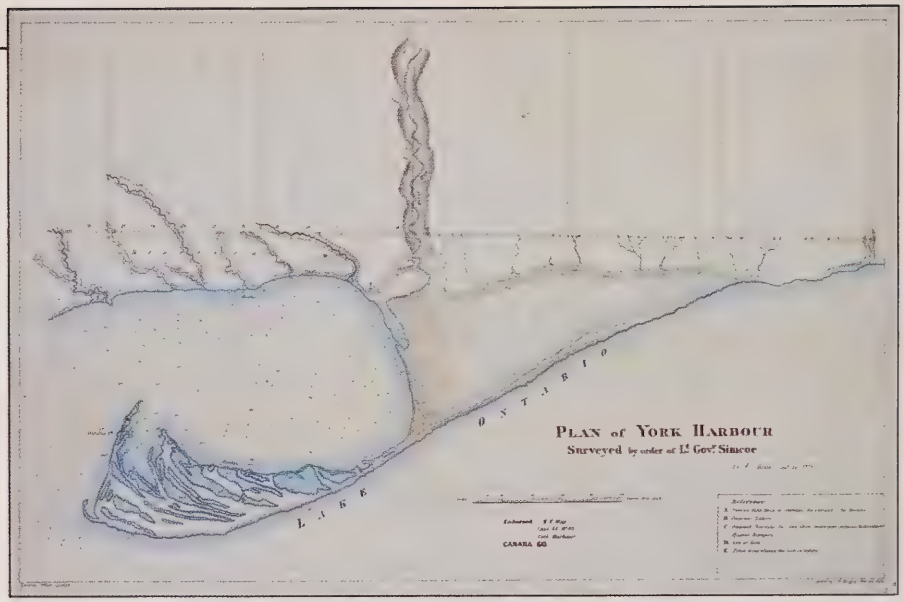


Fig. 1. A 1910 copy of the 1793 *Plan of York Harbour*, surveyed by Alexander Aitken on the order of Lieutenant Governor Simcoe. This map shows the earliest known plan of the Town of York as it was laid out in 1793 on a site east of present-day Jarvis Street. It includes the first accurate depiction of the peninsula, the marsh, and the small rivers. Courtesy National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

of land and the location of most important homes in the town's extension and beyond were clearly related to the courses of the streams—a relationship that persisted for over half a century. Following the rectilinear pattern that distinguishes most North American rural landscapes from those of Europe, clearing and field boundaries north of the baseline also reflected the shape of the lots of the preceding survey.

Phillpotts' map summarizes the situation at the end of the period of establishment, showing in delightful detail a village of homes surrounded by orchards and gardens, slow expansion into the 1797 New Town addition on the west, and a Fort York redesigned and strengthened after the town had been twice captured by the Americans during the War of 1812. The lack of development in the New Town twenty years after government officials and town citizens alike had seen an immediate need for more urban lots may be interpreted as evidence of over-optimistic expectations of growth. More probably it shows that even at that early date in the town's history the acquisition of land in hopes of future speculative profit was popular in York, as elsewhere.

Since York's early importance was based on its role as capital, most maps of the establishment period were made by government surveyors or military engineers. They were manuscript maps produced for official records or to accompany reports to officials in Britain. Increasingly after 1820 the surveyors and map makers worked for private clients, and printed maps appeared. However, the standard of early local printing was such that high quality maps had to be printed elsewhere. The first printed map of Toronto, produced to mark the incorporation of the City in 1834, is included in the exhibition.

These changes in mapping activity are not the only reason why "Expansion" is an appropriate heading for the second time period. Between 1821 and 1850 the conversion of land into urban lots spread beyond the first government surveys: east of Parliament Street into the land of the Hospital Trust, west of Peter Street into the Military Reserve, and north of Queen Street into the privately owned park lots. The built-up area grew in size and density, with attached buildings becoming the norm in the core. The over-supply of urban lots continued on the fringe. All this is clearly evident on James Cane's *Topographical Plan* of 1842 (Fig. 3) which, in marked contrast to the pioneer atmosphere of Phillpotts' clearing in the forest, proved that the village had become a city in size and character as well as in name. It also shows that in the process the urban core had moved west along King Street from the original townsite towards Yonge Street. This and other maps of the period give evidence of an expansion of functions and institutions as well. The presence of the university and Upper Canada College, of banks and churches, and of specialized municipal as well as provincial government buildings all mark a broadening of the city's role.

Map-making resources were ready and able to cope with the demands of the

real estate boom of the 1850s. Toronto's printing industry had improved to the point where fine work could be done locally, a well-known example in the exhibition being Sandford Fleming's *Topographical Plan* of 1851. A meticulous work involving months of observation and surveying on the ground and more months of painstaking engraving, this map shows every street, lot, and building—an important record of the state of development of the city on the verge of a major boom. By this time most of the surveyors, still the chief producers of maps, were no longer government employees but provincially licensed professionals in business to serve the private sector. They were responsible for surveying and mapping the hundreds of subdivisions that created the streets and lots that were the necessary prelude to the expansion of the built-up area.

The subdivision plans featured in the exhibition have been chosen to illustrate the great variety of size, pattern detail, marketing strategies, and motives that characterized these components of Toronto's form. It is cause for wonder that from such a multitude of diverse individual decisions there emerged a city plan with any coherence at all, let alone a relatively comprehensible grid.

Two examples of this variety are shown here. In areas such as Lot 4, Concession I (Fig. 4), now part of the Beaches district but then far from the built-up area, the prospect of urban development was so remote that the first subdivision was transitional in nature. The plan showed mainly large lots more suitable

Fig. 2. *Plan of York* by George Phillpotts, 1818. Courtesy National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

BRIAN BOYLE, ROM

Fig. 3. *Topographical Plan of the City and Liberties of Toronto*, surveyed, drawn, and published by James Cane and engraved and printed by Sherman and Smith, 1842. This map was the first to show the city that emerged from the early village; the detail of the buildings and the landscaping of gardens is particularly noteworthy. Courtesy History Department, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

for market gardening, country estates, or holding for future resubdivision than for urban uses. Typically, smaller lots lined the major roads through the property (the Danforth and Kingston roads) where inns and suburban homes might be expected to appear first.

The advertising flyer for the Bellevue Estate (Fig. 5), consisting of one-and-a-half park lots slightly west of Spadina Avenue, displays a richer complexity of pattern and information. It places the two plans of urban lots being offered for sale in the context of their surroundings—including government buildings in Queen's Park that were proposed but never built. The plan to the south was commissioned by the owner just before his death in 1853 and incorporates the somewhat haphazard results of over twenty years of development near Queen Street. To the north, a large section had been sold and subdivided in a plan whose streets only are shown here, and the remainder had been subdivided on the orders of the executors of the estate. As was typical of large properties where the subdividing family remained in residence, these subdivisions were at the extremities, leaving the family home surrounded by undivided grounds. In the case of Bellevue these grounds shrank through later subdivision until only the garden that now forms Denison Square remained. Other homesteads similarly withheld from development also became parks, while still others provided

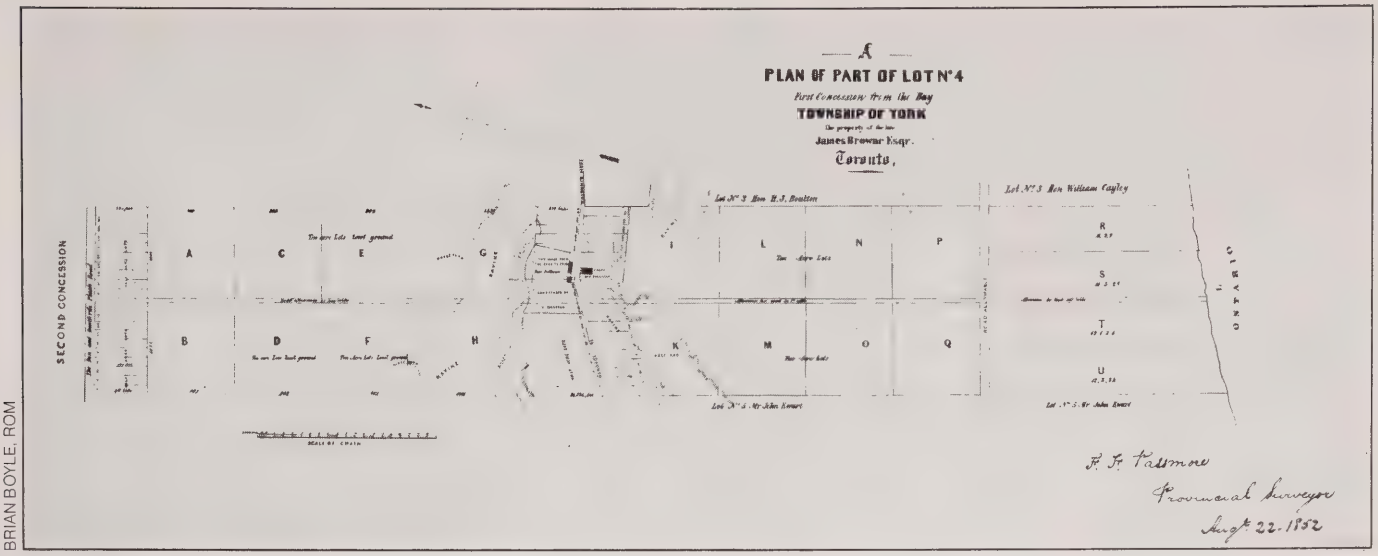


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Fig. 4. *Plan of part of Lot No 4, First Concession from the Bay, Township of York*, by Frederick F. Passmore, 1852. Courtesy Canadian History Department, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

conveniently large land parcels for hospitals or churches, or gave way to islands of houses noticeably later in date than those around them.

In most cases the original manuscript plan of a survey was filed in the Registry Office as the legal record of the subdivision. Often printed copies such as the Bellevue flyer were distributed to promote sales. Usually these were embellished with glowing descriptions of the property's site and situation which, despite obvious instances of hype, provide interesting insights into the qualities considered attractive to 19th-century Toronto buyers. References to healthful

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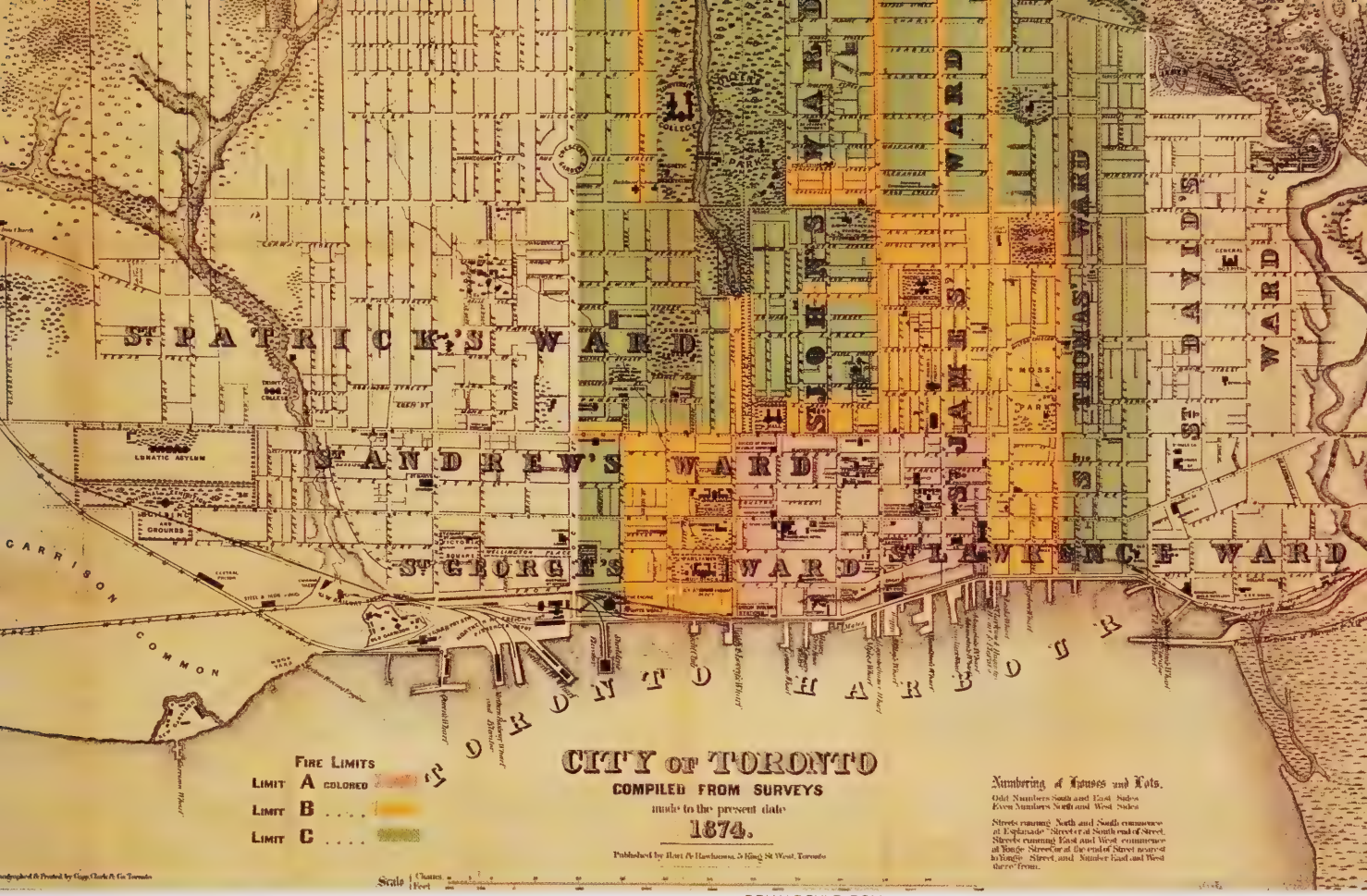
BRIAN BOYLE, ROM

Fig. 5. *Plan of part of the City of Toronto shewing the town lots on Bellevue for sale by the trustees of the Denison Estate*, by J. Stoughton Dennis and lithographed by Maclear & Co., 1854. Courtesy History Department, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

air, accessibility to jobs, and the not-so-subtle mention of any nearby mansions, fashionable churches, or prestigious institutions were designed to appeal both to prospective residents and, often explicitly, to speculators in lots. It was the tremendously enthusiastic participation of these latter in the real estate market that encouraged the equally tremendous over-production of urban lots in Toronto during the boom of the fifties. Inevitably the boom was followed in 1857 by a bust so drastic that little was added to the city's fabric of streets and lots for a decade.

The pattern was now so large and complicated, however, that huge compilations of registered subdivision plans (two of 1862 and 1872 are included in the exhibition) appeared as guides to realtors and buyers, and atlases containing plates of small portions of the city were needed to show the level of detail that had earlier been possible on one map such as Cane's or Fleming's. The earliest Toronto atlas was produced about 1858 by W.S. and H.C. Boulton. Its intended purpose is not certain, but the attention given to construction details suggests it was a precursor of even more detailed atlases of many North American cities prepared for fire insurance companies in later decades. Selected for exhibition are four Boulton plates of areas familiar to most Toronto residents—though that may seem doubtful at first glance. Dramatic changes have taken place since 1858: consider the area shown in Fig. 6, where the Royal Alexandra Theatre

Fig. 6. Plate 25 of the *Boulton Atlas* by William Somerville Boulton and Henry Carew Boulton. Courtesy Canadian History Department, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.



BRIAN BOYLE, ROM

Fig. 7. *City of Toronto* overprinted with fire limits in 1874, by Hart & Rawlinson, lithographed by Copp Clark & Co. Courtesy History Department, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

and Ed Mirvish's restaurants have now replaced Upper Canada College, Roy Thomson Hall occupies the site of the railway yards that replaced Government House, and the convention centre complex is rising where the Parliament Buildings once stood.

The maps that illustrate Toronto's growth toward metropolitan size and status in the final two decades of its first century include evidence of renewed subdivision activity over an ever wider area. Suburban communities such as Yorkville, Parkdale, Riverside, and West Toronto Junction experienced spurts of independent growth before being absorbed into Toronto in a piecemeal annexation process that began in 1883.

In this period, too, the buildings singled out for depiction and identification on maps showed that government, religion, and education had been joined by commerce and manufacturing as noteworthy Toronto functions. At the same time, parks, utilities, and services needed by a large city were appearing, and maps were being produced to record them. One intriguing example in the exhibition is, on the face of it, simply a map of the fire limits as revised in 1874 (Fig. 7). Bylaws regulating construction materials and methods within certain parts of the city had existed since a major fire in 1849, but in 1873, for the first time, residents of any street might petition to have their street included within a limit requiring higher building standards. This map shows clearly that it was the residents of streets with established or hoped-for prestige, notably Jarvis, Sherbourne, and St. George streets, that took advantage of this provision. A bylaw designed for fire prevention was used to introduce zoning based on status.

All maps have a story, or stories, to tell. Visitors with an observant eye, a logical mind, and an active imagination could find themselves entranced for hours by the maps in this exhibition—especially if they come with some knowledge of Toronto's past. Everyone, however, should find the exhibits rewarding for their visual impact, for their informative and often charming detail, for what they reveal about map-making and development in Toronto's first century, and for what they explain about the city we live in today.

Isobel Ganton has a B.A. in modern history from the University of Toronto and an M.A. in history from Columbia University. Her doctoral research as a student of the Department of Geography, University of Toronto, was on the physical development of Toronto to 1884, with special emphasis on surveys, maps, and subdivision plans. During thirteen years as a high-school teacher and as a teaching assistant at the University of Toronto, she has directed research on Toronto and has conducted walking tours of the city for both students and several conferences of professional historians and geographers.

Of Mites and Men

Two biologists on the tundra

An aquatic mite belonging to the genus *Piona*, one of those found commonly in ponds in the vicinity of Baker Lake.

THAT first dip of the aquatic biologist's collecting net into unexplored waters is like a ticket in a lottery, a spin of the roulette wheel. You've travelled thousands of kilometres and put thousands of dollars on the line. You've planned well. You've chosen your study site on the basis of the best available knowledge and with the weight of your previous research behind you. But in the final analysis, the first dip of that net is an act of faith. You're pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, and there's no knowing what you'll find on the other side.

Such were our thoughts as we stood in the ankle-deep waters of a little pond on a hillside overlooking the small airport in the town of Baker Lake. We were well north of the tree-line in Canada's Northwest Territories.

We worked the nets through tufts of grass and sedges growing up from the soft pond bottom. Then back to shore where we dumped the contents of each net into a shallow, white tray filled with clear water. Down on hands and

The float plane, a kind of taxi of the north, carried the authors to sample a remote lake in the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories.

knees, we watched the contents of the tray for signs of life. Small creatures appeared, swimming out of the tangle of vegetation into open water—tiny, planktonic crustaceans, a darting beetle, a graceful fairy shrimp. There . . . could that be it? A mite, a water mite! One small, eight-legged creature has turned our lottery ticket into a winning number. All the planning has paid off, and this expedition is now sure to be some kind of a success.

This was the beginning of our two-week stay in the Keewatin District, a land of permafrost and tundra in the far northeastern section of the Northwest Territories. We had examined water mites from the Yukon and from much of the length of the Mackenzie River. Staff from the Entomology Department had collected specimens for us from Ontario's Hudson Bay lowlands. And we ourselves, two years earlier, had sampled these tiny aquatic arachnids in the Inuvik area, 1500 km to the northwest. But all previous collecting sites were still within Canada's forested zone. We had to answer the question, basic to a complete understanding of the country's invertebrate life: how far north of the treeline can these "significant" elements of the aquatic fauna live? Would we find anything at all?

It was to answer these and other questions that we had travelled to Baker Lake, a small Inuit settlement, about two-thirds of the way north along the western side of Hudson Bay at the head of Chesterfield Inlet, 300 km inland from the sea. Although the settlement has a total population of fewer than 900, Baker Lake's airstrip is big enough to handle twin turbo-prop commercial airliners, and there are eight scheduled airline flights per week during the summer. There are no roads or railway lines leading to Baker Lake.

David and Norma Barr

N. Barr extracting mites from an aquatic sample. A thorough job involves long hours of dodging mosquitoes over the collecting tray.

Ecologically, the settlement is smack in the centre of low arctic tundra, a region with a harsh climate but a rich ground cover of lichen, mosses, and low herbaceous plants that flower profusely at the height of summer. One thing it doesn't have is trees. The nearest of those is found about 500 km south.

We knew the aquatic mites we were seeking maintained rich populations as far north as the end of Canada's treed zone. They were abundant at Inuvik, 500 km closer to the north pole but, because of a climatic jog, only at the edge of the treeless tundra. In a similar position ecologically, Churchill, Manitoba, also has a varied mite fauna. But no one before had seriously investigated water mite populations in the climatic zone represented by Baker Lake.

Fortunately, we didn't have to worry about any lack of suitable habitat. Baker Lake may not be the wettest spot in the north, but for a community with only six miles of roads, it has a wealth of accessible lakes and ponds. In the south, we usually have to drive hundreds of miles to visit a handful of suitable habitats. At Baker Lake, we were able to find and sample mite populations in twenty-seven different sites during the two-week period.

Getting around would have been a problem, however, if we had had to rely on our usual four-wheeled transportation. There are not many trucks in the town and even fewer cars. There were none for rent when we were there; even when there are, the rates are as high as the latitude. We managed nicely, however, by taking a leaf out of the Inuit book. For shopping, for visiting friends, or just for pleasure driving, the universal summer vehicle of today's north is the all-terrain cycle, a motorized tricycle with fat, knobby tires and a made-in-Japan label. They are dependable and can go almost anywhere. And they're remarkably easy on the natural environment. Those over-inflated tires can roll gently across even the most delicate tundra flower without harming it.

All-terrain cycles enable the Inuit to indulge their love of the land. Although some of the men now work for private business or for federal or territorial gov-

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The sled dog is still a prized possession among the Inuit of Baker Lake.

ernment operations, many Inuit seem still to live for the weekends when they can get out of town. In mid-summer, individuals or families set out across the tundra or push off in motor boats, set up tents in some remote location, and spend a day or two, or sometimes several weeks, fishing or hunting. In winter, snowmobiles take the place of all-terrain cycles in satisfying the urge to get back on the land.

Despite these modern innovations, many people still have dog sleds for the winter, both the larger cargo sleds and the shorter, lower racing sleds. And they still keep dog teams like those that were their fathers' only lifeline during dark, bitter winters. The owner of a team may have four or more dogs tied out, either near the house or just beyond town on the edge of the tundra. A chain is staked tightly to the ground, and the dogs are tethered by shorter chains attached to it at intervals. Each animal will have a wooden shelter and a metal pan for water. These animals are not pets in the southern sense, and when their owner comes out in the evening with the day's meal of fish, the ensuing ferocity and excitement might be a little frightening to the average dog lover.

Art is another activity popular with the Inuit of Baker Lake. At the artists' co-op we saw locally fashioned examples of typical northern sculpture. And upstairs in the sewing centre, we found something for which Baker Lake is uniquely famous—the felt wall-hangings created by the women of this community. Here was the source of those creations, rich in colour and in the symbolism of traditional life, that we had previously seen hanging not only in the civic centre in Churchill, but also in chic galleries in downtown Toronto and at the Art Gallery of Ontario.

For an aquatic biologist, the tundra country is some of the most beautiful imaginable. There's water, it seems, almost everywhere. Tiny, shallow puddles, only a few centimetres deep, sit perched on sloping hillsides with no visible means of water supply. Larger ponds, up to half a metre deep, are situated where they clearly were formed by waters from recently melted snows (there were still snowbanks in protected localities in late July, although some afternoons it was 25°C in the sun). The permanent waters are of two types: large,

Clinging tightly to the bare rock, this lichen's cycle of growth and weathering has produced a striking concentric pattern.

D. Barr with the three-wheeled, all-terrain cycle used to visit tundra ponds and lakes beyond the reach of the few Baker Lake roads.

mud-bottomed ponds, and lakes with gravel and rock shorelines that range in size from a few hundred square metres to Baker Lake itself.

What is of interest to the aquatic biologist, however, is not the waters themselves but what lives in them. And life is abundant. Starting with tiniest planktonic water fleas, the freshwater crustaceans (relatives of lobsters and crabs) also include indolent, flesh-pink fairy shrimp drifting slowly through the water on their backs, and slate-grey tadpole shrimp scuttling across the bottom for all the world like diminutive horseshoe crabs. A host of insect larvae, including darting mayflies, wriggling midges, and voracious water tigers turn every dip of the collector's net into a lively sample. Swiftly swimming adult beetles make up the most active and conspicuous element of the aquatic fauna.

All this and mites too. We collected almost 2000 of these, belonging to nine different genera. Their communities show lower diversity than those to the south, but far more than we had dared to hope.

It was a young bush pilot we met at Baker Lake Lodge who gave us our best look at the wild tundra. Brad was flying a single Otter every other day between Baker Lake and Chantry Lodge, a wilderness fishing camp another few hundred kilometres north. His regular passengers were tourists en route to a fishing vacation and the opportunity to sample arctic char. But between flights, he had little to do. One day Brad flew us and our waders and trays to a lake about 30 km to the northwest, picked at random from the map.

From the air, the oft-repeated description of the north as a sea of lakes becomes breath-taking reality. Brad flew low and brought the float plane down smoothly on the lake we had chosen. After taxiing over to a gravelly beach and helping us off, he also waited patiently for three hours while we took our samples. Here there were no signs of human habitation, and mites were abundant. The absolute stillness of the open tundra, broken only by the cry of a bird or the rushing of the north winds, is a field experience without parallel.

Our visit by bush plane to a totally uninhabited area was not only memorable, it was also a necessary test that mites found near the town of Baker Lake are representative of the true local fauna. It appears that they are, as too are the plants representative of the regional flora. The tundra vegetation we saw at the end of our plane ride was little different from what we had observed in detail

When arctic flowers bloom, the tundra is dotted with a spectrum of colours. Shown here is the arctic fireweed.

near town. Although we had not planned to do so, we happened to arrive just at the time of the famous blooming of tundra flowers. Blossoms were everywhere. On disturbed sites, where mosses and lichens had been scraped away, the magenta blooms of arctic fireweed flourished. There were purple asters, delicate pink cushions of moss campion, and lemony buttercups of several different species. Spiky pastel flowers of pale paintbrush contrasted with violet petals of the insectivorous butterwort and the flossy tufts of arctic cotton. Together they created a patchwork quilt spread across the rolling hillsides.

The north is still a frontier in Canada. It is remote, empty, and during the winter, cruel. But in summer the tundra can be a delightful experience and, with the invertebrates still relatively unexplored, a rewarding site for faunal investigation. We still have to learn, one day, how much farther north those mites actually go. If we can raise the funds, we hope another summer will find us in the biological lottery once again as we dip our nets into another northern pond.

David Barr, an invertebrate zoologist who has been with the ROM for fifteen years, carries out evolutionary and taxonomic studies on various animals in the Phylum Arthropoda (insects and their allies), including crayfishes, water mites, and army ants. This work has been supported for the last ten years by the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council. His research techniques include comparative anatomy and behaviour, simulations, and computer classification.

Norma Barr has been a biological technician in the ROM and a research assistant at the University of Toronto. For the last seven years she has assisted in Museum research on aquatic mites, carrying out laboratory investigations as well as field work in much of eastern North America and the Canadian arctic. In her spare time, she maintains an interest in mineralogy and gemmology.

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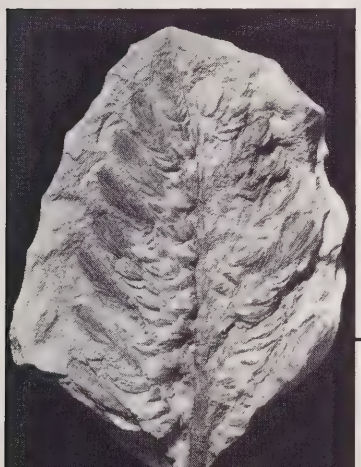
THE · GROWING · COLLECTIONS

A rare jacket, originally manufactured in the 18th century for the Thai market, is the most significant addition of recent years to the Royal Ontario Museum's collection of Indian cotton textiles. Possibly intended as a costume for Thai court guards, it demonstrates one of the more exotic forms of marketing specialization which the Indian textiles manufacturers mastered.

An unusual feature of this fabric is that the pattern was dyed to the shape of the jacket in order to create the appearance of a suit of armour. Demonic faces with fangs grip a patterned belt at the front and back; the sleeves are disgorged from the jaws of other demonic masks at the shoulders. The lower sections with interlocking patterns imitate a chain mail shirt.

This jacket is a major addition to the ROM's collection of trade textiles made in India for various international markets. It also documents a specific form of protective armour which has a long history in East Asia. Guardians from the ROM's collection of Chinese tomb figures dating from the Tang dynasty (618–906) wear suits of this glamorous armour. The tradition continued through the 19th century in the parade armour of Chinese imperial palace guards. J.V.

Additions to the invertebrate palaeontology collections for 1983 included specimens in all three major categories under our care. The first category, invertebrate animal fossils, is represented by the Middle Cambrian trilobite *Jenkinsonia*; the second category, fossils plants, by the Pennsylvanian horsetail *Asterophyllites*; and the third group, trace fossils, by a specimen of *Cruziana*, the trackway of a Mississippian trilobite. D.R.



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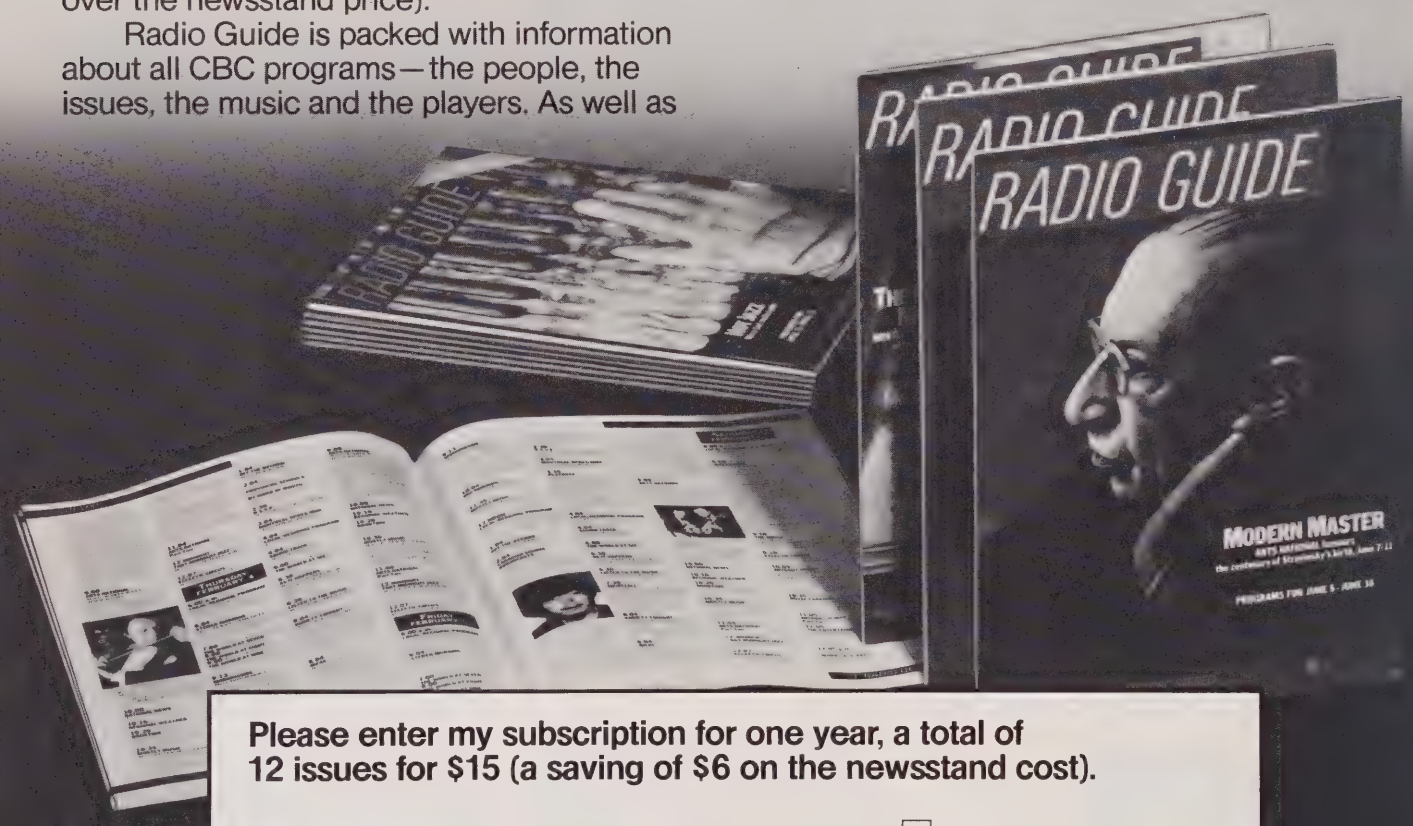

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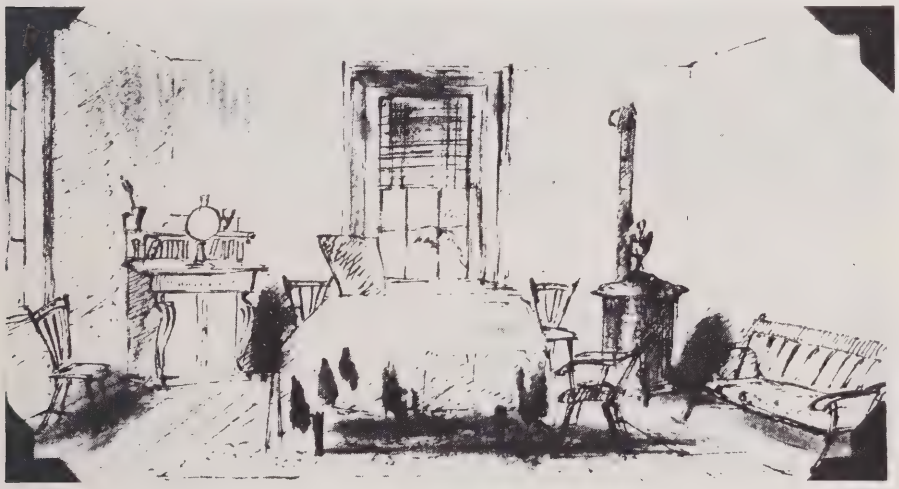
Heirlooms from Upper Canada

A bicentennial exhibit from the ROM

During the past 200 years southern Ontario has changed from a wooded, unsettled wilderness to a thickly populated region of thriving urban and rural areas, powerful industries and businesses, and prosperous farmlands. Today there seems to be little to remind us of the Upper Canada that welcomed the early immigrants from Britain, continental Europe, and the United States during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. To help provide a link between the people of Ontario today and these early settlers, a special bilingual exhibit, ''Heirlooms'', has been organized by the Extension Services Department of the ROM.

The early settlers in Upper Canada were mainly immigrants from Britain or Loyalists from the United States. Often, the few possessions they brought with them provided the only link with the lands they had left behind. These sentimental items were passed on from generation to generation and in some cases they eventually became part of museum collections. ''Heirlooms'' is an exhibit composed of small, personal items either brought to Upper Canada by the early settlers or acquired in the 19th century when their lives had become more settled and prosperous. China, silver, clothing, and accessories ordered from Montreal, Boston, New York, or Europe reflect the growing prosperity of the province, while the handicrafts are indicative of increasing leisure. Even today immigrants to Ontario still bring prized possessions or at least small keepsakes from their homelands, and these too will link the past, present, and future generations of our province.

The artifacts on display in ''Heirlooms'' have been selected from the Canadiana, European, and Textile departments of the Museum, and the following three articles contributed by these departments comment on the exhibition, each from a different angle. ''Heirlooms'' will travel and will be exhibited in museums throughout the province during our Bicentennial Year and 1985. Many local museums may complement the exhibit with artifacts from their own collections.



A room at Nith Grove Farm near Guelph as sketched in pen by C.D. Brown c. 1861. The only ornaments are a pair of glasses or ceramic beakers on the desk to hold "spills" (twisted lengths of paper used to take a light from the fire) and an urn to hold water for humidifying, an integral part of the cast iron stove in the corner. In the evening, the "solar" lamp on the desk would be moved to the table, giving the occupants light to read, sew, or play parlour games. Courtesy Ontario Archives.

Gracious living in the wilderness

Peter Kaellgren

THE mere mention of the word "heirloom" is often enough to strike terror into the heart of any curator in the field of Western decorative arts. So much of human hopes and history is tied up in such artifacts. Often the curator has to cope with family stories that are hearsay or misconceptions surrounding objects whose origins are later than their owners suppose. These stories have usually grown in magnitude with frequent repetition. The cold objective facts of marks, materials, and style render many an heirloom younger than family recollections might suggest.

When dealing with Ontario artifacts, two stories are repeated with amazing frequency. First: "This object is 150 years old. It belonged to my great-grandmother. She would be that age if she were alive today." In this case, the owner ignores the fact tht newborn infants do not come out of the womb carrying silver tea sets, four-post beds, jacquard coverlets, and similar articles. Until fairly recently, most of an individual's possessions were acquired after marriage, say, after the age of twenty-one. Also, people continue to acquire goods throughout

their lives. The treasured "150-year-old" heirloom may actually have been given to Granny at her last Christmas in 1909. It is difficult and sometimes even painful to extricate heirlooms from their matrix of emotion, family pride, and genealogy.

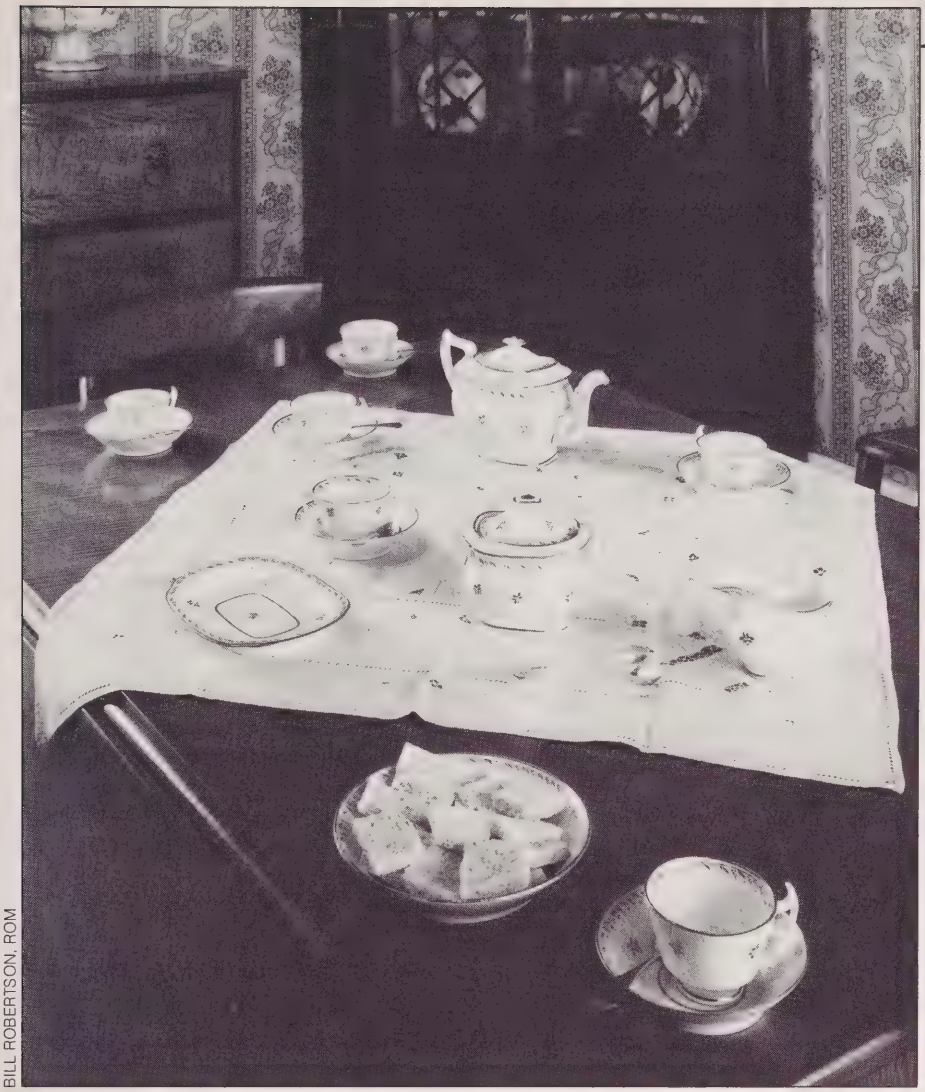
The other "old chestnut" that pops up with great regularity in Ontario is the Loyalist connection. Probably not more than five percent, at most, of the artifacts said to have come up from the Thirteen Colonies with the Loyalists ever saw the sacrifices or deprivations of those early immigrants. Upon examination, most Loyalist artifacts turn out to be items datable by style and construction to the period when the first or even the second generation of Loyalists was well established in Upper Canada and had money for more than the bare necessities.

Despite these and other considerations, museums continue to collect heirlooms. In fact the heirloom aspect of artifacts is assuming an importance of its own. In recent years in North America the "social history" approach to collecting has become just as prominent as the "fine art" approach. This means that museums are valuing items that are representative of a period or culture rather than only masterpieces of craftsmanship, design, or precious materials. History as reflected in artifacts has become more democratic, in part because the public now wants to know about their own ancestors' mode of life as well as that of royalty, generals, and other prominent figures. Artifacts are increasingly studied as historical reflections of society and culture.

While the collections in the ROM's European Department are oriented mainly towards traditional studies of the development of design and technology, they are also valuable resources for documenting artifacts used in Canada. As a colony of Britain, Upper Canada imported most of its manufactured goods, and also most of its settlers, from the mother country. Thus our British collections are somewhat like a library of information on the types of things that were or might have been used here. In August 1982, Olive Jones, the chief glass researcher at National Historic Sites, Ottawa, came to study our English and European glass. She was amazed to discover how many of our intact pieces corresponded to the glass sherds that had been excavated at 18th- and 19th-century military sites across Canada. Ms Jones had been unable to find a comparable range of pieces for study at any other institution.

Some of our objects have more clearly defined personal associations and have been donated with histories of usage in early Ontario. In many cases these

The double drawing room in Mrs. Macdonald's mansion, Wellington Street, Toronto, photographed about 1910. Both the gilt centre table in the rear room and the chair at the desk, right foreground, came to the ROM in 1951. From the Salmon Albums, courtesy the Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.



BILL ROBERTSON, ROM

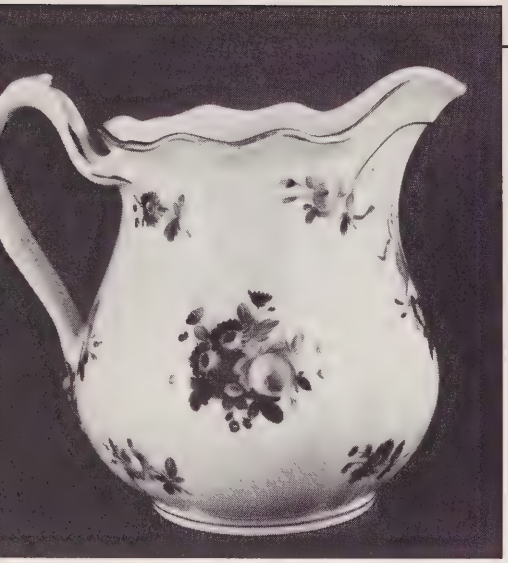
According to family tradition, this Coalport bone porcelain tea set c. 1815 was brought to Canada by pioneers. The teapot, shown here away from its oblong stand, would have been combined with as many as twelve place settings. The photograph was taken in a dining room set in the Sigmund Samuel Canadiana gallery. Gift of Mrs. L.E. Jaquith.

histories can be supported by the age of the pieces, and such information is carefully noted on the catalogue cards. Extension Services' exhibition of heirlooms has provided a welcome opportunity to display many of these pieces documented to Ontario's early settlers along with other pieces representative of types used here.

Ceramics, glass, and metalwork have survived from the earliest period of settlement in greater quantities than textiles and more perishable materials. For this reason, it was decided to select mainly pre-Confederation examples of these for the bicentennial exhibition. It was anticipated that many of the institutions borrowing this exhibition might already have good examples of post-Confederation ceramics, glass, and metalwork in their communities.

Some idea of the overall history of the marketing of dry goods in Canada can be obtained from Elizabeth Collard's *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (1967 and 1984). During the early years, only the most basic consumer goods were made in Upper Canada. Glass, ceramics, and metalwork were not common in modest households, but wealthy government officials and British officers often owned extensive sets. Montreal played a key role in the retailing of imported dry goods, which were distributed by merchants who acted as middlemen or the fur companies. Auctions were also an important source of used and new ceramics, glass, and metalware. The cost of new goods was often very high, since there was great risk of damage on the long water journey from Britain and freight had to be portaged around the Lachine Rapids. Montreal distributors were very accommodating in supplying barrels of utilitarian table ceramics, bowls, and baking dishes suitable for sale by stores in the backwoods,

This dinnerplate in a variety of ironstone china commercially known as "pearlware" was produced by Podmore Walker & Co. c. 1849–60. The transfer-printed "Washington Vase" pattern is typical of the imaginative flow-blue designs sold in Upper Canada in great quantities by many English firms. Gift of Mrs. Marianne Wilson.



Top: Hard-paste porcelain jug with painted decoration. French, probably Paris or Limoges, c. 1840–60. This large jug (21.2 cm high) was part of a dinner service of 134 pieces brought to Canada by the donor's maternal grandmother. Gift of Mrs. Alick Stockwood.
Bottom: Britannia metal teapot made by the English manufacturer James Dixon & Sons, Sheffield, c. 1845–50. Britannia metal, an alloy very similar to pewter, was often used for consumer wares in the mid-19th century. This piece is typical of the many thousands shipped to Canada from Sheffield and Birmingham. Gift of Mrs. E. Mealia.

Sample pieces from a bone porcelain tea set for twelve in a robust rococo revival style, made in England by an unidentified factory c. 1865–75 with the pattern number 5381. The slop bowl is for the spent tea leaves that had to be disposed of between cups before the invention of tea bags. Sets of this general type were found in most middle-class homes in Upper Canada between 1865 and 1880, and many old pieces have survived. Bequest of Elizabeth Henley Shaver.

and such assortments persisted until well into the 19th century; but these everyday pieces were seldom pretty enough to be preserved as heirlooms.

By the 1850s Toronto had become large enough to support its own retailers, who ordered directly from British manufacturers. As the century progressed, steamships and railroads made transportation cheaper, smoother, and faster, and many immigrants were now well enough settled to afford more consumer goods. Though Susannah Moodie advised new immigrants to convert breakables into seed money before leaving Britain and to buy fancy goods only when they were successfully established in Upper Canada, some settlers did bring fine goods on the long and arduous journey to the new land.

Many of our conceptions of 19th-century life in Upper Canada revolve around the cluttered interiors of the late Victorian era or the austere log cabin. It is difficult to realize that Victorian clutter did not really arrive until 1875 or later and that the log cabin was not home to every early settler. Many early settlers built quite tasteful homes equal to modest middle-class dwellings in Britain. As late as 1860, interiors in Upper Canada were often plain versions of Regency styles, without an abundance of knick-knacks. With the growing trade in dry goods, improved transportation, larger incomes, and changing tastes, clutter came in. Glass, ceramics, and metal goods were readily available from stores, and by the 1890s from mail order catalogues.

The 19th century saw a number of changes in popular versions of these wares. These changes were comparable in scope to those that we have seen in recent years, such as improved stainless steel, ovenproof glasswares, "melmac", and plastic housewares. At the beginning of the century, the predominant ceramic type was a fairly thin, off-white earthenware sold either as cream-coloured earthenware or "pearlware". The latter had cobalt added to whiten the glaze. English bone porcelain, a fine white porcelain containing bone ash, soon became a favourite material for fine tea sets and tablewares and continued to be popular throughout the century. However, after Confederation its popularity was increasingly challenged by imported French hard-paste porcelains, mostly from Limoges, and German and Austrian ceramics. By the 1880s, these Continental wares had captured a significant part of the market for fancy tablewares and decorator objects. Meanwhile ironstone, a heavy, thick, durable earthenware perfected by Miles Mason about 1815, had become the predominant body for British utilitarian wares by the 1840s and continued to the early years of this century.

The changes in glass were perhaps less obvious. The best early 19th-century table glass was colourless cut lead glass from either England or Ireland. Pressing was introduced into many American glassworks during the 1830s. By the 1850s American pressed glass was found on Canadian tables and more coloured glass ornaments were available. The range and variety of colour in pressed glass ex-

The birth of a child in the Victorian period could be celebrated with appropriate gifts. The well-off child might have received a silver christening mug such as the one shown here, made in Birmingham in 1864. Small plates, often with moralizing decoration, were for more modest budgets. Shown here is one made at John Thomson's Annfield Pottery, Glasgow, c. 1840–50.

panded during the 1880s and 1890s. While British and American glass continued to be imported, Canadian factories began production in this period making pressed tablewares as well as large quantities of lamp chimneys, preserving jars, and bottles. During the early 19th century, bottles had been carefully recycled in well-run households; by the 1880s, they were readily available even in clear glass.

In metalwork the big change was the introduction of electroplating during the 1840s in England. By this process a thin layer of pure silver was deposited on a cheaper metal body. Previously, household metalwares had consisted of silver, Sheffield plate, Britannia metal (a variety of pewter), and brass. Most of these wares were imported. Silver articles, especially small pieces, might be made locally but imported pieces often came from the settler's home area. By the 1850s, electroplate was largely replacing other metals and even Britannia metal was electroplated.

A knowledge of how earlier Ontarians used their ceramics, glass, and metalwares is very important to our understanding of these objects. Particularly since 1967, the reconstruction of historic houses and the making of films have stimulated research into earlier lifestyles. While today we feel a group of mixed tea and coffee cups is perfectly acceptable, the ideal until the late 19th century was to have all the ceramics matching. Pieces like slop bowls to hold tea leaves, crumbs, etc. and cup plates to hold tea cups or coffee cups while the liquid is being drunk from the saucer are no longer a part of our tea ritual. Pitchers in sets of three graduated sizes or in novelty forms for display are not as frequently used. Silver christening mugs and fans also are not part of our lifestyle. Yet many of these objects have survived as heirlooms because they commemorated formal occasions or were seldom used, like the large platters which are so often all that survive from the extensive dinner services of the early 19th century.

Many of the pieces in the exhibition have stories or family associations. There are two cups from the Stone family whose farm is said to have been situated where the University of Guelph stands today, and a pint decanter belonging to an Ontario storekeeper who may be suspected of having taken the temperance pledge, since the decanter later held camphor crystals. None of the stories is more poignant than that of the small mustard pot given by Lela M. Hine of Norfolk, Virginia. Miss Hine made a point of donating this mug to the ROM when the author was attending a seminar at Norfolk's Chrysler Museum. It had been sold in 1966 in a chest of possessions that had belonged to an Ontario woman who had died after living for many years in an institution in Norfolk. Although the pot is small and damaged, its blue pattern is a rare one showing a scene of European settlement of about 1800. So far only two or three pieces are known in this puzzling pattern from an as yet unidentified British pottery. There is still much to be discovered about Ontario's past and its artifacts, and therein lies at least part of the future work of our museums.

Pearlware mustard pot with blue transfer pattern, English c. 1810–20. Gift of Mrs. Lela M. Hine.

Peter Kaellgren graduated from the University of Toronto master's programme in museum studies in 1971, with a major in art history. In 1972, after a year spent cataloguing historical Canadian art at the Public Archives of Canada, he joined the ROM's European Department, where he specializes in British decorative art with an emphasis on ceramics, glass, silver, and furniture. He coordinated the ROM exhibition, "A Gather of Glass" in 1977. In 1981, he began a Ph.D. programme at the University of Delaware and the Winterthur Museum, and hopes to travel this spring to research his dissertation on the console table in England 1700–1800.

Clothes and fashion

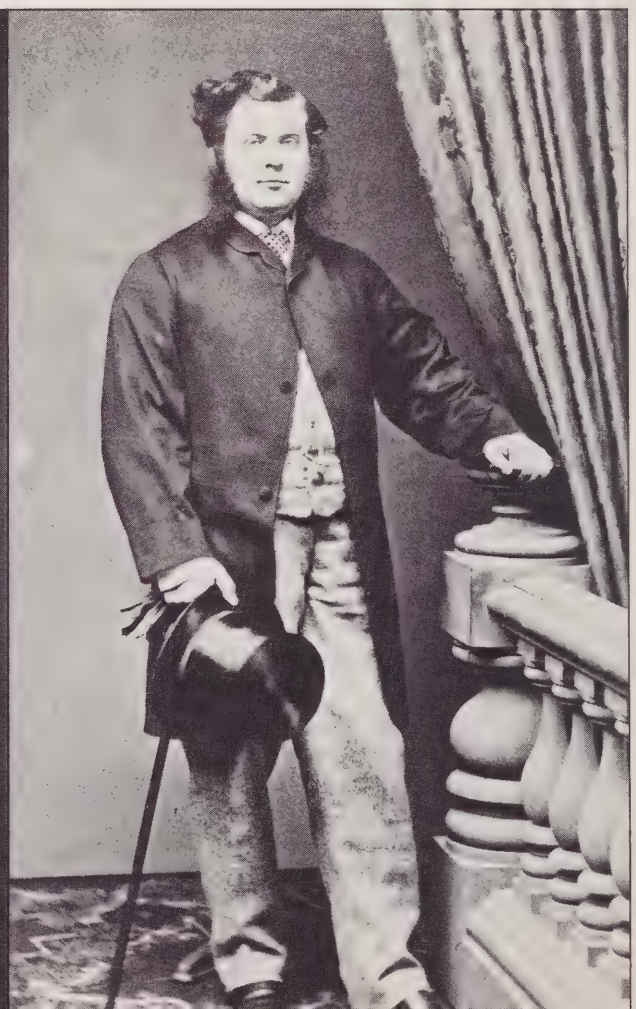
Mary Holford

IN the early years of Upper Canada everyday clothing for the settlers was usually made at home, since there were virtually no professional tailors or dressmakers in the new settlements. Some of the early settlers raised sheep and spun their own yarn, which they then took to a professional weaver or to a woollen mill to be woven into cloth. Dry goods, including a few fashionable accessories and items of jewellery, were sold at public auctions. Among the goods advertised were: muslin, chintz, and calico for women's dresses, chintz shawls, cotton and worsted stockings, broadcloths for coats, checked shirting, gentlemen's tamboured (a type of embroidery) cravats, ostrich feathers, and hair powder. (The hair powder was probably worn at official functions.) Shipments of shoes arrived sporadically, sometimes in impossible sizes, to be sold at such places as the local inn. Shoes wore out, and because they were difficult to obtain they were mended constantly. Moccasins were very popular among the early settlers, both as houseshoes and as overshoes in winter. These also had to be mended, but at least they could be replaced without difficulty.

Ladies of the small élite society at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), the first capital, and others who had the time followed the latest fashions by correspondence, and in journals and illustrated fashion publications. They wrote home for fashionable dresses or accessories from time to time, so that they could not only wear them but could copy them. Gentlemen of this privileged class frequently sent their measurements, or a sample garment, to tailors in New York, Boston, or Britain. This was somewhat like "mail order", but orders sent overseas sometimes took as long as four or five months to be delivered.

By the early 19th century a few professional tailors, dressmakers, milliners, and boot and shoemakers were beginning to establish themselves in towns like Newark and York (Toronto). But gentlewomen like Anne Langdon and Mary O'Brien, who lived in the country in the late 1830s, still had to make almost all the clothing for their households. Mary O'Brien wrote that the country women of Upper Canada rarely wore caps, white frills, or handkerchiefs. She remarked: "Their winter gowns are generally dark flannel of the country (a material that

Left: Daguerreotype of 1857 or 1858 shows a Cobourg lady with her daughter, wearing her "Sunday best" dark silk dress trimmed with velvet ribbon. Her embroidered muslin collar, white Paisley shawl, brooch, and chain were accessories valued by well-dressed women of the mid-19th century.
Right: A Toronto gentleman, photographed in 1862, wearing the frock coat with narrow, turned-down collar and wide sleeves that was also fashionable as women's wear. The silk top-hat, checked tie, square-toed shoes, gloves and walking stick, as well as the long side-whiskers, reflect the taste of a man of fashion.



was being sold in the stores in York as 'Canadian Grey wool' (1838)) . . . this material cost them more than English manufactured cloth.''

Since these genteel country women had little or no opportunity to wear the good dresses they had brought with them, their silk gowns and fine accessories lasted ''forever''. These and other garments worn for special events—christening robes, men's wedding suits and vests, women's wedding dresses, and shawls—became family heirlooms handed down from one generation to the next, and it is these garments which are most often found in museums today. On the other hand, women's cotton or woollen housedresses, men's nankeen (cotton) trousers, home-made shirts, jackets, underwear, and children's clothes, were all subject to hard wear, and were often cut down to be made into patchwork blankets, quilts, or mats. Nothing was wasted, and therefore relatively few practical working garments remain.

Fur clothes and covers were also used and re-used, because contrary to what one would expect, they were more expensive in this fur-producing country than in Britain, where skilled furriers with more experience had a wider market for the finished products.

By the beginning of the 19th century dry goods stores began to spring up in York, Newark, and other growing centres. Merchants either sent to Britain for their wares or travelled to New York or Boston to bring back goods of every sort, including fashionable fabrics and accessories. From the 1830s the variety of partially finished and ready-made clothes for men, women, and children greatly increased, and by mid-century almost every article of the latest fashion became available in the flourishing towns of Upper Canada.

Mary Holford is assistant curator in the ROM's Textile Department. Since joining the Museum in 1954, she has worked with the collection of fashion costume and relevant material. A native of Toronto, she is a founding member of the Costume Society of Ontario and a member of the Fashion Group Inc., Toronto.

Our homely treasures

C. Janet Holmes

MOMENTOUS events affecting the lives of all of us are chronicled daily in newspapers and on television and analyzed by journalists and commentators. Eventually, in the hands of the historian these same events may be viewed in perspective and may give us some understanding of our relationship with our past. On a personal level our links with our past are more likely to be bound up in familiar daily objects and family possessions, together with the memories surrounding them, inherited from earlier generations. These more domestic memories are also important, for in them are recorded the struggles and experiences of the individual human spirit.

Such memories may be triggered by a china set or a dresser box given to Grandmother as a wedding present in 1890 or a locket or silver spoon engraved with her initials, or a pocket watch, school medal, cane, or souvenir pipe that belonged to Grandfather. These simple items conjure up thoughts of cosy family life, of loneliness and hardships survived, or of special moments of personal celebration and triumph; or they may recall the public personalities and state occasions of another time. They connect us with our past in a much more intimate fashion than do the public records and memorials.

One of the most treasured of family belongings is often a china breakfast, tea, or dinner set, perhaps by now reduced to a single remaining cup and saucer. It would doubtless have been a prized possession for its original owner too. Even as late as the 1890s a housewife living in a newly settled area in Ontario would have understood what Anne Langton meant when, on 3 August 1839, in a letter from her home near Fenelon Falls, she wrote:

> Things will break here as elsewhere, and we want replenishing sadly. You have no idea of the extra value which china, glass, etc., acquire by removal to the wilderness.
>
> [Hugh Hornby Langton, ed., *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The journals of Anne Langton*]

That value is testified to by the careful repairs with rivets sometimes seen in older pieces. When replacement was difficult, even common kitchen bowls would be mended so that they could continue in service.

Other items for the table that survive are silver knives and forks, spoons and large serving spoons, and salt cellars, often engraved with the owner's initials. They might be part of a special set of silver brought from England, or purchased

A Noah's ark of painted wood c. 1880–1900; probably made in Germany. Anonymous gift.

Tea caddy of bird's-eye maple veneer over pine, with walnut edge moulding. Canadian, c. 1850. Gift of Miss Frances Joy Miller.

in Canada, or ordered from a local Canadian silversmith. John Langton, an Englishman just settled in a new house forty miles from Peterborough, wrote to his brother on 9 January 1834 about makeshift preparations for the celebration of Christmas in his still unfinished house:

> . . . we had worked hard all day, flooring the loft and reducing everything to order; a table had been manufactured out of a door and two empty barrels, a table cloth was airing by the fire, silver forks, mustard, and such-like forgotten luxuries were ready to grace it. . . .
>
> [John Langton, *Early days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton . . .*]

These silver items were probably brought from England and even in the middle of house building a great effort was made to continue the customs and traditions of Christmas cherished from home.

If the owners of these treasured pieces of china and silver lived in small villages, such items may well have travelled to many a social gathering. Susannah Moodie, writing in the mid-19th century, observed:

> If a party is given in any of the small villages, a boy is sent round from house to house to collect all the plates and dishes, knives and forks, teaspoons and candlesticks, that are presentable for the use of the company.
>
> [Susannah Moodie, *Roughing it in the bush*]

Though tea and dinner sets of a single pattern remained the ideal through most of the 19th century, necessity often dictated the use of mixed assortments of china and cutlery for large parties. A mixture of tea cups and saucers came to be seen as providing a pleasing variety, and thus a practice born of necessity became an accepted Canadian custom.

> Florence put on (the Christmas tree) for us each a very pretty china cup and saucer (it is fashionable in Canada to have all cups different).
>
> [Louis Tivy, *Your loving Anna: Letters from the Ontario frontier*]

The custom still continues. Evidently it is not universal: several years ago I had a phone call from a lady visiting from Texas who was curious about the custom, since it was unknown in her state.

Tea was served at both breakfast and dinner. Both tea and cane sugar were common foodstuffs that had to be imported and could not be produced by the

"A Kettledrum", engraving published 22 June 1872 in the *Canadian Illustrated News*.

settler's own efforts. The teas were usually kept in a locked tea caddy and blended as required. By 1886 the consumption of tea and sugar was being used as a measure of the nation's prosperity in the same way that beef consumption might be reported today. In 1868 the annual consumption of tea in Canada was 2 lb per head, in 1877 it was 3¼ lb and in 1886 it had grown to 4¾ lb. At the same date in England it was not quite 5 lb per head. [Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, *Canada: Statistical Abstract and Record for 1886*]

By the 1870s—particularly perhaps in the provincial capitals and larger towns—tea had become the central beverage in a new institution, the "afternoon tea". The emergence of this phenomenon is described in an article on "A Kettledrum" in the *Canadian Illustrated News* for 22 June 1872:

> Of all the meals ever invented by the wit of man, we think the supper in all its varieties, from that which furnishes delicate dishes and choice wines for a choice party to the homely welsh rabbit or chop and pint of stout in some tavern, has met with the greatest favour from man. But therein lies its weak point. It is essentially a meal for man, and not for woman, and there are doubtless many who are not sorry that modern customs are gradually thrusting it out of the list of recognized meals. . . . As we have postponed our dinner time from hour to hour, the natural effect has been that the custom of supping has declined. . . . it has been necessary to fill the gap . . . in the shape of that afternoon tea which goes by the name of "a kettledrum", and in this both ladies and gentlemen can mingle, and if it has not the full Bohemian flavour of the supper, that bouquet of jollity which choice spirits love, it is decidedly more refined and elegant. Tea is a beverage which some profess to despise, but hard-workers know its fine qualities and turn not up their noses at the unassuming cup. "Tea in the arbour", which used to be reckoned among the vulgarities of life, has got into society, and in this fine weather, when the sun is shining and the sky is blue and the grass is green, it is much better to talk scandal in the garden than over the tea-table in doors.

In the decades after 1870, it is likely that this new elegant custom was gradually introduced into smaller villages and into areas that had been settled three or four generations earlier. Here it probably replaced the community "bee", that earlier community effort that had accomplished such important jobs as barn-raising. As more specialized building trades and day labourers took on this task, the importance of the "bee" would decline, and the joint community effort, which had served both a practical and social purpose, would be replaced by a social event for both men and women.

Sometimes the items kept as heirlooms had a humbler purpose, but their neatness and the care with which they were made and their decorative appearance would have given them a place of honour and pride in the eyes of their owners. Such an heirloom might be a spice-box, still aromatic with cinnamon and cloves, made with carefully dove-tailed corners, or a band-box for storing everything from hats to small linens, decorated with geometric carving and then painted and varnished.

Letters were a vital link between lonely and homesick settlers and the life and family they had left behind. The writing-box, paper, ink bottles, seals, and sealing-wax, all used in sending home news of the settlers' progress and the details of their new life, brought the home they had left behind a little closer. Anna Leveridge, soon after her arrival in Canada in 1883, wrote home what must have been a common appeal:

> I hope you have got my last letter I wrote, but I have to get people to take them, so they may sometimes be lost. I hope that you will all write pretty often and tell me all the news as this is so lonely. I read your letters over and over. Tell Father to give them all a good smoke, as, as soon as we opened the last one, we smelt Father's pipe and passed it around so we all had a whiff.
>
> [Louis Tivy, *Your loving Anna: Letters from the Ontario frontier*]

Postage and writing paper were expensive and so the practice of "crossing" the letter was adopted as a means of saving money. A page was written, then turned through ninety degrees and the letter was continued by writing at right angles across the lines already written.

Visions of family life are evoked by the children's toys in the exhibition. Rocking horses, Noah's arks with pairs of animals, farm sets, dominoes, doll's

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Copper medal commemorating the War of 1812–14.

furniture, and dolls were an important part of children's play. A doll was one young boy's constant companion:

> Johnnie is getting a jolly boy. He is quick and sharp, and always ready and anxious to help in anything. His Rosie is still in the land of the living, after being drowned and buried alive and hung on a stump and reskinned. Lily's doll's name is Nellie and Katie's Clara.
>
> [Louis Tivy, *Your loving Anna: Letters from the Ontario frontier*]

Dolls, those silent and sympathetic friends of childhood, still retain years later the names affectionately bestowed by their owners. The porcelain-headed doll with black moulded curls came to the ROM identified as "Emily" from a family in the Eastern Townships.

Medals struck to commemorate special private and public occasions allow us to glimpse some of these important events. Special medals were awarded to

The doll "Emily" at right, c. 1850–1870; probably made in Germany.

those who fought against the American invasion during the War of 1812–14, including one that carried a message of thanks for "Upper Canada Preserved", with an allegorical scene showing the Niagara River, with the American eagle on one side and the Canadian beaver on the other, backed by the presence of the British lion. The medal was "Presented by a grateful Country". Some medals were issued to inaugurate important structures. A medal struck in 1860 celebrated both a royal visit by the Prince of Wales and his participation in the opening ceremony of the Victoria Bridge in Montreal. Another medal of celebration was the one inaugurating Canada's Confederation in 1867 with symbolic figures representing the four provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Toronto with civic pride commemorated its fiftieth anniversary as an incorporated city in 1884 with a medal.

In the 19th century, when childbirth claimed the lives of many women at a young age, the celebration of a fiftieth wedding anniversary was probably a much rarer occasion than in more recent years. In 1825, William Dummer Powell, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and Anne Murray celebrated their fiftieth anniversary with a medal showing two hands clasped in union. One prized family medal was won for oratory by James Shanly before he emigrated from Dublin, Ireland, and several christening mugs in the exhibition recall the joy and wonder of the beginning of a new life.

All these heirlooms, whether they are linked to public events or to more private moments, provide a continuity with the values of our past. Theirs is the story of individual human effort for survival and prosperity. They remind us of lives lived, traditions kept, challenges met, and accomplishments honoured.

Janet Holmes is a curatorial assistant in the ROM's Canadiana Department. She graduated in history and modern languages from the University of Toronto in 1963 and received her B.L.Sc. from McGill University in 1965. Her primary research fields are the history of glass technology, the development of the Canadian glass industry, and Canadian toys.

Silk Roads • China Ships

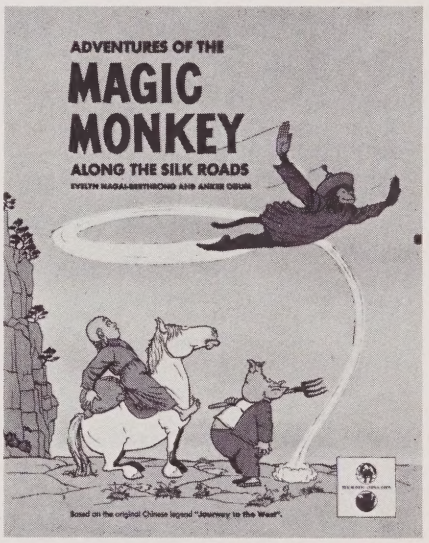
ROM, John E. Vollmer, E. J. Keall, E. Nagai-Berthrong, 256 pp., ill. b&w and colour, $19.95 paper

Combining essays, picture-essays, and profuse illustration, this publication describes the trade goods and cultural influences that travelled along the ancient trade routes between China and Europe. The text provides a valuable reference to the history of East-West trade from the 2nd century B.C. to the late 19th century A.D. by exploring the flow of artistic, technological, and religious ideas. The seven main essays focus on Chinese silk, archaeological discoveries in western Iran, the dissemination of Buddhism and Buddhist artistic influences, the movement of artistic ideas in the 7th and 8th centuries, the advance of seafaring, the spice trade, and the mania that developed in the Western world for all things Chinese.

Published to accompany the exhibition of the same name, *Silk Roads • China Ships* also contains a catalogue of 400 exhibition entries. This stunning publication is illustrated with 450 photographs, including more than 100 in full colour, presenting an informative visual study of historical East-West trade.

Adventures of Magic Monkey Along the Silk Roads

ROM, Evelyn Nagai-Berthrong and Anker Odum, 40 pp., full colour, $9.95 cloth



Magic Monkey is an exciting cartoon story based on episodes from the 16th-century Chinese classic *The Journey to the West*. The tale itself was inspired by the account of the pilgrimage of a monk from China to India in the 7th century to procure Buddhist texts and icons. It is his travels along the Central Asian silk roads that provide the basic plot of this uniquely entertaining and thought-provoking publication.

Magic Monkey may be read simply as an adventure story, or it may be approached philosophically. The heroes—a monk, a monkey, a pig, and a dragon-horse—are engaged in a journey to fetch the scriptures from India; each is also on a personal quest for Universal Truth and peace of mind. As they endeavour to overcome many physical and mental challenges, the heroes portray the diverse attributes of humankind. Monkey represents clever, manipulative characteristics. Pigsy shows the grosser aspects of people; and Sandy the mysterious, yearning, seeking qualities. At the end of the story are four pages of photographs of art objects and motifs from the *Silk Roads • China Ships* exhibition which can be identified in the full colour drawings throughout the story.

Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum, A Catalogue

ROM, J. W. Hayes, 216 pp., ill. $40.00 paper

This publication catalogues the ROM's collection of Greek, Roman, and related metalware, from the Mediterranean region and Egypt dating from the 8th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. The 337 entries encompass vessels, lamps, containers, spoons, ladles, furniture fittings, and some sculptural elements. Each object is described in detail and generously illustrated. This catalogue makes a significant contribution to the growing corpus of known material, and should be taken into account in any future synthesis.

Available: February 1984

ROM Publications may be obtained from the ROM Shop, or by mail order from Publication Services, Royal Ontario Museum.

Index 1983

Titles

L'art de l'architecte: Three centuries of architectural drawings in Quebec City; Luc Noppen; Vol. 16, no. 3:34

Beneath the Blue Lagoons: An ichthyological expedition to Fiji; Richard Winterbottom and Alan R. Emery; Vol. 16, no. 3:18

Bishop White Gallery, The; Evelyn Nagai-Berthrong; Vol. 16, no. 3:12

Book Reviews: *Just Bats*, M. Brock Fenton; review by R.L. Peterson; Vol. 16, no. 2:46; *The Vail Site: a Palaeo-Indian Encampment in Maine*, Richard Michael Gramly; review by Peter L. Storck; Vol. 16, no. 2:47; *The House in East and Southeast Asia*, K.G. Izikowiz and P. Sorensen (eds.); review by Edward S. Rogers; Vol. 16, no. 3:42; *Battle for the West*, Daniel Francis; review by Walter A. Kenyon; Vol. 16, no. 3:44; *Flowers of the Wild*, Zile Zichmanis and James Hodgins; review by James H. Soper; Vol. 16, no. 3:47

Chinese Lions, The; Jeannie Parker; Vol. 16, no. 2:2

Costumes from the Ballets Russes: A colourful evocation of the Daighilev era; Izabella Krasuski, Joyce Whiteford, and Mary Holford; Vol. 16, no. 2:20

Coverlet for Hannah Moot, A: A recent gift for the Canadian textiles collection; Dorothy Burnham; Vol. 16, no. 1:44

"Dark characters of mortal doom": The petroglyphs of Kejimkujik Lake, Nova Scotia; Brian Molyneaux; Vol. 16, no. 1:36

Digging in the Archives; Bill Roedde; Vol. 16, no. 3:2

Discovery Gallery, The; Frances MacArthur; Vol. 16, no. 3:17

Dome of the Rotunda, The; David A. Young; Vol. 16, no. 1:2

Gallery Glimpses; Vol. 16, no. 1:20, no. 3:12

Growing Collections, The; Vol. 16, no. 1:47; no. 2:15; no. 3:40; no. 4:27

Heirlooms from Upper Canada: A bicentennial exhibit from the ROM. Gracious living in the wilderness; Peter Kaellgren. Clothes and fashion; Mary Holford. Our homely treasures; C. Janet Holmes; Vol. 16, no. 4:29

Hunchback Tomb, The: A major archaeological discovery in Central America; David M. Pendergast; Vol. 16, no. 4:5

Icon of the Divine Liturgy, An: Inspired by the last phase of Byzantine painting; Ladislav Cselenyi and Neil Moran; Vol. 16, no. 3:28

Islamic Gallery, The; Lisa Golombek; Vol. 16, no. 1:20

Mankind Discovering: Finding the Theme; L.D. Levine. The Gallery in the Making; Leslie Patten; Vol. 16, no. 1:10

Mapping Toronto's First Century: 1787-1884; Isobel K. Ganton; Vol. 16, no. 4:12

Micro-World of Mont St-Hilaire, The; J.A. Mandarino; Vol. 16, no. 1:26

Ming Tomb Gallery, The; James Hsu; Vol. 16, no. 1:22

Of Mites and Men: Two biologists on the tundra; David and Norma Barr; Vol. 16, no. 4:20

Outpost of Empire, An: Excavations along the Euphrates River, Iraq; T. Cuyler Young, Jr.; Vol. 16, no. 1:4

Recent Publications; Vol. 16, no. 2:45, no. 4:39

Restoring the Buddhist Statues; Marianne Webb; Vol. 16, no. 3:13

Shadow in the Forest, A: Stalking the tinamou in Belize; James A. Dick; Vol. 16, no. 2:29

Shamma, Gabi, and Kamis: Traditional cotton costumes in Ethiopia; Michael Gervers; Vol. 16, no. 2:38

Silk Roads. China Ships: East-West trade through the ages; John E. Vollmer; Vol. 16, no. 2:4

Sincerest Form of Flattery, The: 17th-century French etchings of the battles of Alexander the Great; K. Corey Keeble; Vol. 16, no. 1:30

Stars Over China: Watchers of the Eastern Skies; Paul Deans; Vol. 16, no. 3:6

Touring Ontario's Museums: Century Village, Lang; David A. Young; Vol. 16, no. 2:32

Two terracotta reliefs in the ROM; K. Corey Keeble; Vol. 16, no. 4:2

Authors

Barr, David and Norma; Of Mites and Men: Two biologists on the tundra; Vol. 16, no. 4:20

Burnham, Dorothy; A Coverlet for Hannah Moot: A recent gift for the Canadian textiles collection; Vol. 16, no. 1:44

Cselenyi, Ladislav and Neil Moran; An Icon of the Divine Liturgy: Inspired by the last phase of Byzantine painting; Vol. 16, no. 3:28

Deans, Paul; Stars Over China: Watchers of the Eastern skies; Vol. 16, no. 3:6

Dick, James A.; A Shadow in the Forest: Stalking the tinamou in Belize; Vol. 16, no. 2:29

Emery, Alan R. and Richard Winterbottom; Beneath the Blue Lagoons: An ichthyological expedition to Fiji; Vol. 16, no. 3:18

Ganton, Isobel K.; Mapping Toronto's First Century: 1787–1884; Vol. 16, no. 4:12

Gervers, Michael; Shamma, Gabi, and Kamis: Traditional cotton costume in Ethiopia; Vol. 16, no. 2:38

Golombek, Lisa; The Islamic Gallery; Vol. 16, no. 1:20

Holford, Mary; Heirlooms from Upper Canada: Clothes and fashion; Vol. 16, no. 4:34

Holford, Mary, Izabella Kraususki, and Joyce Whiteford; Costumes from the Ballets Russes: A colourful evocation of the Diaghilev era; Vol. 16, no. 2:20

Holmes, C. Janet; Heirlooms from Upper Canada: Our homely treasures; Vol. 16, no. 4:35

Hsu, James; The Ming Tomb Gallery; Vol. 16, no. 1:22

Keeble, K. Corey; The Sincerest Form of Flattery: 17th-century French etchings of the battles of Alexander the Great, Vol. 16, no. 1:30; Two terracotta reliefs in the ROM; Vol. 16, no. 4:2

Krasuski, Izabella, Joyce Whiteford, and Mary Holford; Costumes from the Ballets Russes: A colourful evocation of the Diaghilev era; Vol. 16, no. 2:20

Kaellgren, Peter: Heirlooms from Upper Canada: Gracious living in the wilderness; Vol. 16, no. 4:29

Levine, L.D.; Mankind Discovering: Finding the Theme; Vol. 16, no. 1:10

MacArthur, Frances; The Discovery Gallery; Vol. 16, no. 3:17

Mandarino, J.A.; The Micro-World of Mont St-Hilaire; Vol. 16, no. 1:26

Molyneaux, Brian; "Dark characters of mortal doom": The petroglyphs of Kejimkujik Lake, Nova Scotia; Vol. 16, no. 1:36

Moran, Neil and Ladislav Cselenyi; An Icon of the Divine Liturgy: Inspired by the last phase of Byzantine painting; Vol. 16, no. 3:28

Nagai-Berthrong, Evelyn; The Bishop White Gallery; Vol. 16, no. 3:12

Noppen, Luc; L'art de l'architecte: Three centuries of architectural drawing in Quebec City; Vol. 16, no. 3:34

Parker, Jeannie; The Chinese Lions; Vol. 16, no. 2:2

Patten, Leslie; Mankind Discovering: The Gallery in the Making; Vol. 16, no. 1:14

Pendergast, David M.; The Hunchback Tomb: A major archaeological discovery in Central America; Vol. 16, no. 4:5

Roedde, Bill; Digging in the Archives; Vol. 16, no. 3:2

Vollmer, John E.; Silk Roads. China Ships: East-West trade through the ages; Vol. 16, no. 2:4

Webb, Marianne; Restoring the Buddhist Statues; Vol. 16, no. 3:13

Whiteford, Joyce, Izabella Krasuski, and Mary Holford; Costumes from the Ballets Russes: A colourful evocation of the Diaghilev era; Vol. 16, no. 2:20

Winterbottom, Richard and Alan R. Emery; Beneath the Blue Lagoons: An ichthyological expedition to Fiji; Vol. 16, no. 3:18

Young, David A.; The Dome of the Rotunda; Vol. 16, no. 1:2; Touring Ontario's Museums: Century Village, Lang, Vol. 16, no. 2:32

Young, Jr., T. Cuyler; An Outpost of Empire: Excavations along the Euphrates River, Iraq; Vol. 16, no. 1:4

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